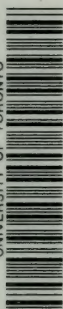


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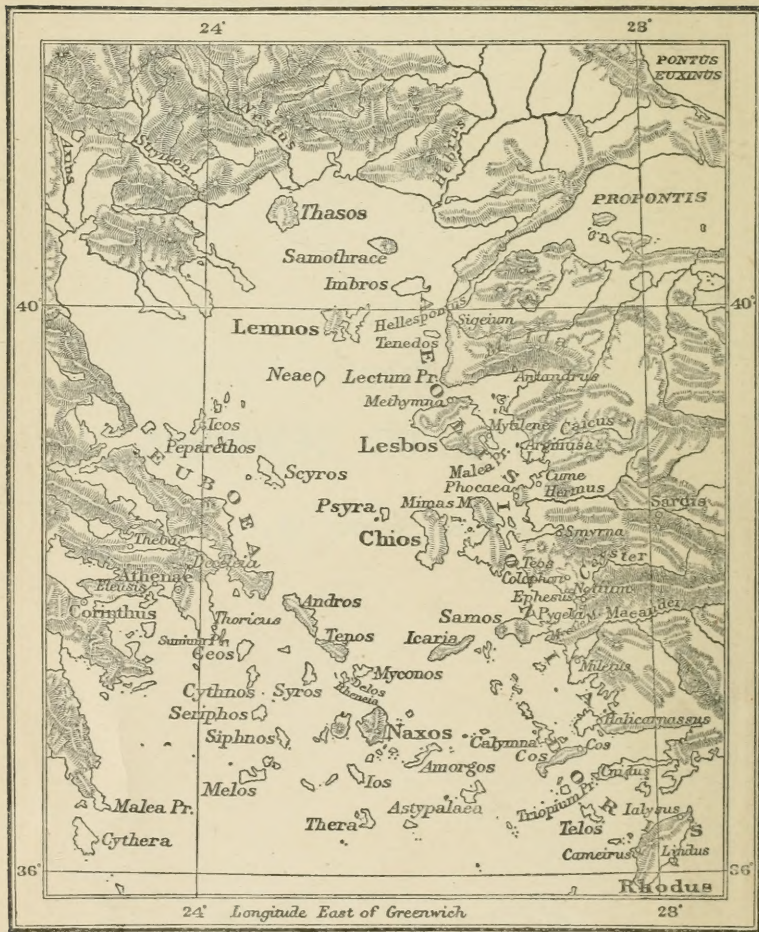


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THE
HELLENICA OF XENOPHON

BOOKS I AND II.

AEGEAN SEA & ITS COASTS



THE HELLENICA OF XENOPHON

BOOKS I AND II

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS edition is designed chiefly for those students who have already some knowledge of Greek, but are not advanced enough to grapple with the difficulties of Thucydides. The historical value and interest of the *Hellenica* are very great, and the Greek is sufficiently difficult and instructive even for a high Form.

The *apparatus criticus* in Otto Keller's larger edition has been found very useful for the revision of the text; but I have adopted very few of the changes which he has introduced on the suggestion of Cobet, Nauck, Hartman, and others. I am also indebted to the editions of Breitenbach, Büchsenschütz, Manatt, and Underhill; to the histories of Grote, Mure, Curtius, and Holm; also to Mr Dakyns's Introduction and Translation, to Mr L. Whibley's *Political Parties in Athens*, to Prof. Goodhart's

Eighth Book of Thucydides, and to the editions of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* by Mr Kenyon and Dr Sandys.

Before beginning the Greek text the student should read pages xxviii—xlii of the Introduction. At least a slight acquaintance with the period of history there sketched is indispensable for the intelligent study of our subject.

G. M. E.

CAMBRIDGE, *November 11*, 1898.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION :	PAGE
I. Short Life of Xenophon	ix
II. The <i>Hellenica</i>	xviii
III. Other authorities for the period contained in <i>Hellenica</i> , I and II	xxiii
IV. Sketch of Greek History from the Athenian disaster in Sicily to the Battle of Cynossema	xxviii
V. Summary of the Chief Events recorded in <i>Hellenica</i> , I and II	xliv
TEXT : Book I	I
Book II	38
NOTES : Book I	75
Book II	117
INDEX TO THE NOTES :	
I. Proper Names	161
II. Greek Words	162
III. Grammar	165
MAPS :	
The Aegean and its Coasts	<i>to face title-page</i>
The Propontis, etc.	<i>page 74</i>

INTRODUCTION.

I. SHORT LIFE OF XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was the son of Gryllus an Athenian of the deme of Ercheia. Our information about his early life is extremely meagre and uncertain. The date of his birth is entirely a matter of conjecture ; the slender evidence available seems to point to the year 435 B.C. The date usually given, 444 B.C., is unquestionably incorrect. In his boyhood he made the acquaintance of Socrates, who, it is said, one day met the young Xenophon in the street and proceeded to catechise him after his fashion, enquiring of him where different articles could be obtained. He then asked him where men were made good and noble ; and, the boy being unable to answer his question, Socrates bade him follow him and see. Henceforth Xenophon became the devoted disciple of the philosopher, whose *Memorabilia* (*Memoirs*) he afterwards wrote. The story of his preservation from death by Socrates at the battle of Delium in 424 B.C. is evidently a fiction, like many other stories in Greek literary biography.

When Xenophon reached the age for military service, Athens was suffering severely from the stress of the Peloponnesian War ; and he doubtless took part in the defence of the city down to its capture by Sparta in 404 B.C. He seems to have belonged to the 'Knights.' Several of his books manifest a keen interest in horses and horsemanship. Any one familiar

with Aristophanes' picture of the 'Thousand good Knights' and their aristocratic contempt for the demagogue will to some extent appreciate that strange feature in the life of Xenophon, his dislike of the Athenian democracy and his enthusiastic admiration for Sparta and all things Spartan. Before Xenophon left Athens in 401 B.C. he had probably completed the first two books of his *Hellenica* or *History of Greece*, a continuation of the unfinished work of Thucydides (see p. xliii). These books describe the closing scenes of the great war, the tyranny of the Thirty and the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C. The extremely interesting essay *on the Athenian Constitution*, ascribed to Xenophon, is the earliest remaining specimen of Attic Prose; it must have been written when Xenophon was quite a boy, and cannot be his work. It is now generally thought to have been an anonymous publication; and different critics have suggested Alcibiades, Critias, and even Thucydides as possible authors of the treatise. The writer is sometimes called the 'Old Oligarch.'

Xenophon's departure from Athens was due to the expedition of Cyrus described in the *Anabasis*. Cyrus, the younger and abler of the two surviving sons of Darius II King of Persia and his queen Parysatis, came into prominence in 408 B.C., when at the early age of seventeen he was appointed Satrap, or Viceroy, of Lydia, Phrygia and Cappadocia and Commander-in-chief of the royal troops in those parts. He was thus practically supreme in Asia Minor. In 404 B.C. Darius died before the Queen could obtain from him a declaration in favour of Cyrus on the ground that the elder son Artaxerxes was born before his father's accession. The young prince, nursing the bitterest feelings of hatred and revenge, conceived the brilliant idea of collecting a Greek force, in addition to his large Asiatic army, to fight Artaxerxes for the throne. The circumstances of the time were highly favourable to this policy; for at the end of the Peloponnesian War began the rise of mercenary troops in the Hellenic world. The tyranny of the oligarchies established, under the Spartan Empire, in the Greek cities had driven many from their homes; while the general demoralisation caused by a long

period of war and the dissolution of family ties hastened the decay of patriotism and kindled the passion for a roving life of profit and adventure. Cyrus saw his opportunity; despatching his agents in all directions, he drew together to his court at Sardis many Greeks of ruined fortunes. A born leader of men, he dazzled the Greek imagination by his brilliant personality, his youthful enthusiasm and his open-handed generosity. Hellenic patriotism was practically dead; and here, apparently at the dawn of a new era, was a prince with a great future, having at his disposal 'the gold of Asia and the men of Hellas.' He demanded no sacrifices,—so ran his magnificent invitation to Sparta,—without ample rewards. The soldier who came on foot should receive a horse; he who came on horseback, a chariot and pair. Owners of fields should be made masters of villages; and masters of villages lords of cities. So successful was this policy that early in 401 B.C. Cyrus had concentrated at Sardis a force of 8000 men, whom his Greek officers had collected in the Peloponnese, Thessaly, Ionia and elsewhere.

Among the Greek officers whom Cyrus had attracted to Sardis was the Theban Proxenus, an old friend of Xenophon, who gives a sympathetic account of his noble and ambitious nature. From his description of Proxenus as a disciple of the rhetorician Gorgias, and as one who recognised the importance of culture as an element of distinction in public life, we may infer that the bond which united the two friends was of a literary character. Moreover we are told elsewhere that Xenophon, who was a few years older than Proxenus, had acted as his tutor. Hence it appears probable that Cyrus wished to secure, through Proxenus, the services of Xenophon as a *civil* officer to aid him in his ambitious schemes. Xenophon expressly tells us that he joined the expedition *neither as general nor captain nor soldier*. Early in 401 B.C. he received from Proxenus a letter, in which he undertook to introduce him to Cyrus, adding the cynical remark that he considered the friendship of such a patron was *worth more to himself than his native city*,—a striking illustration of the decay of patriotism

during this period. He communicated the proposal of Proxenus to his master Socrates, who feared that his young friend might provoke the hostility of the democracy, if he threw in his lot with one who had been the bitter enemy of Athens and had actually furnished Sparta with the means of crushing her. He accordingly advised him to consult the oracle at Delphi. Thither Xenophon repaired. But, instead of asking the God, 'Shall I go to Sardis or shall I forbear?' he put the narrower question: 'Having a journey in view, to which of the gods must I offer prayers and sacrifices in order to make it propitious?' The oracle indicated to him the proper deities. Socrates, however, was displeased with his disciple because he had not submitted the question with perfect frankness. 'Nevertheless,' he added, 'since you have elected to put the question in your own way, you must act on the answer vouchsafed.' So Xenophon set sail after duly performing the necessary rites. Probably he was not sorry to leave his native city; for Athens under the restored democracy cannot have been an agreeable residence for a member of the Knights, the class which had been the chief support of the atrocious tyranny of the Thirty.

Xenophon reached Sardis in the spring of 401 B.C., and found Cyrus and Proxenus preparing to set out on an expedition directed, so it was alleged, against the Pisidians, a refractory robber tribe in a distant part of the prince's satrapy. They both expressed a strong wish that Xenophon should accompany them. He was deceived by their statements, for which, he adds, Proxenus was not responsible; for neither Proxenus nor any other Greek officer except the Spartan Clearchus, an intimate friend of Cyrus, had at present any suspicion that the expedition was really directed against the King of Persia. Cyrus had completed his preparations. The 8000 Greek troops now concentrated at Sardis he placed under the charge of Clearchus. The Asiatic troops of Cyrus, numbering 100,000, were commanded by his friend Ariaeus the Persian. Cyrus still told the Greeks that the object of his enterprise was merely to secure the frontiers of his province against the Pisidian freebooters; and, in order to deceive Artaxerxes, he gave out that the Greek force which he

had collected was designed for service against his jealous rival, Tissaphernes, Satrap of Caria. But Tissaphernes suspected the real designs of Cyrus, and, when he heard of the magnitude of the prince's army, set out with all speed to inform the Great King, who at once began his preparations.

The expedition started in March, and entered Babylonia in September. At Cunaxa the Cyreians gained a great victory over a Persian host of 900,000 men ; but Cyrus, the one hope of the expedition, was slain, and here they were in the heart of the Persian empire entirely destitute of resources and surrounded by treacherous foes. Still, with splendid self-confidence, as conquerors in the battle of Cunaxa, they proceeded to offer their prize of victory, the Persian throne, to Ariaeus, who had commanded the Asiatic troops of Cyrus. He politely declined their invitation ; probably he had already made up his mind to seek the favour of Artaxerxes and to betray his brothers in arms. Clearchus seems at first to have placed a blind confidence in Ariaeus, who undertook to conduct the Greeks to the sea by a route different from that by which they had come. Accordingly it was resolved to begin the retreat in his company. But soon the treacherous seizure of their generals by Tissaphernes rendered the situation of the Greeks more desperate than ever ; Xenophon speaks of it in most pathetic language. Their spirits were however speedily revived by his own energetic action. During the night after the disaster he awoke from a remarkable dream and at once aroused the captains who had served under Proxenus. In a midnight council of war he urged them with simple and stirring eloquence to take measures for the common safety. They at once recognised his fitness for command and called upon him to fill the place of his friend. At Xenophon's suggestion, the captains of the other divisions were convened, and they nominated four other generals. At daybreak the new generals summoned the soldiers, who met after the fashion of a Greek Ecclesia and proceeded to discuss the future conduct of the expedition and to confirm the appointment of the generals proposed. They had soon risen from the paralysis of despair to a sense of their national greatness. The meetings of the Ten

Thousand are an exact reproduction of the citizen-assemblies at home. The army is a wandering political community ; and the national characteristics of the race are wonderfully brought out in the narrative of the Retreat.

It is very remarkable that an Athenian should have exercised a commanding influence over the Ten Thousand. For Athens was now unpopular in Greece, especially in the Peloponnese ; and a large majority of the soldiers were Peloponnesians, more than half being Arcadians or Achaeans. Xenophon was almost the only Athenian taking part in the expedition, and he had come 'neither as general nor captain nor soldier.' His extraordinary rise to power is doubtless due to the Athenian democratic training, which had given him flexibility and resource and, above all, persuasive eloquence. He displays throughout a marvellous faculty of tactful dealing with mixed multitudes and embarrassing circumstances ; and possesses in Athenian perfection the threefold power of thought and speech and action. 'The Athenian alone,' says Curtius, 'possessed that superiority of culture which was necessary for giving order and self-control to the band of warriors barbarised by their selfish life, and for enabling him to serve them in the greatest variety of situations as spokesman, as general and as negotiator. And to him it was essentially due that, in spite of their unspeakable trials, through hostile tribes and desolate snow-ranges, 8000 Greeks in the end reached the coast.'

'The sea ! The sea !' was the triumphant cry of the Greeks, when the Euxine burst upon their view early in March 400 B.C. after five months of weary marching and fighting. In two days they reached the Greek colony of Trapezus, where they rested for a month, fondly imagining that all their troubles were over and that they could easily return to their homes by sea. They were bitterly disappointed. Sparta was supreme in the Grecian world, and her officials on the Euxine refused to provide the Cyreians with means for their return. After great difficulties they at last reached Byzantium. There, owing to their cruel treatment by the Spartan admiral Anaxibius, they resumed their profession of mercenaries, accepting the offer of the

Theban Coeratidas, who promised them ample rewards if they would undertake a campaign in Thrace under his leadership. This agreement soon fell to the ground; and in 399 B.C. we find them in the service of the Thracian prince Seuthes, assisting him to subdue some rebel tribes. They fought for two months; but met with cruel injustice as their reward.

Now, however, came a complete change in the policy of Sparta, which determined to support the Greek cities in Asia Minor against the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. This meant war with Persia. Thimbron, the Spartan general, who was sent into Ionia, finding himself in want of reinforcements, invited to his aid Xenophon and the remnant of the Cyreians, whose numbers had now dwindled away to 6000. Smarting under the treatment they had just received from Seuthes, they obeyed the summons with alacrity. Xenophon crossed over into Asia and conducted his troops over Mount Ida to Pergamus. 'Then,' he says in the last words of the *Anabasis*, 'Thimbron took over the army and incorporated it with the rest of his Greek force, and fought against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.' So Tissaphernes, to quote again from Curtius, 'saw before him once more the hated men whom he had assumed on the day of Cunaxa to be doomed to perish hopelessly under the swords of the Carduchi or amid the snow-fields of Armenia.'

Before Xenophon handed over his troops to Thimbron in the spring of 399 B.C., he was, he tells us, *preparing* to return home; for, he adds, the decree of banishment had *not yet* been passed against him at Athens. These words have an important bearing on the vexed question of the date of his banishment. They certainly support the view that the blow came *soon*. He seems to have expected such a disaster for some time past; for he speaks of hoping for an asylum with Seuthes the Thracian prince, and his project of founding a colony of his own on the Euxine was probably due to the same fear. The decree of banishment was passed on the proposition of the orator Eubulus. His alleged offence is differently stated by two authorities. He was banished either (1) 'because he had taken

part with Cyrus, the greatest enemy of the Athenian democracy, in an expedition against the Great King their well-wisher,' or (2) 'for Laconism,' *i.e.* for favouring Sparta. But these two statements may be looked upon as practically identical; for taking part with Cyrus, who had shewn his friendship for Sparta by providing her with the 'sinews of war' against Athens, might well be looked upon as 'Laconism.' This view is strongly supported by the anxiety of Socrates on the subject (see p. xii). Grote, however, owing to an apparent misunderstanding of a passage in the *Anabasis* (v. iii. 7), places Xenophon's banishment in 394 B.C. after the battle of Coroneia, when he actually fought for Sparta against his native city. Xenophon was 'preparing to return.' Whether he actually did return to Greece in 399 B.C. is uncertain. The trial and death of his master Socrates took place in the summer of this year; and the Athenians would not have been inclined to shew any tenderness to one of the Socratic brethren. The decree of banishment was probably passed very soon afterwards. Anyhow, in a few months we find him again in command of his old Cyreian troops in Asia Minor, serving first under Dercyllidas, who succeeded Thimbron in 398 B.C., and then under King Agesilaus, who went out in 396. For Agesilaus he entertained the warmest admiration and became his intimate friend. But the King was not allowed to remain long in Asia Minor; for, on the formation of the confederacy of Athens, Thebes and Corinth against Sparta, he was summoned to fight for his country in Greece. Xenophon and his troops accompanied him into Boeotia and took part in his victory at Coroneia.

When Xenophon's service under Agesilaus was over, the Spartans gave him a house and grounds at Scillus, near Olympia. Soon after Xenophon had settled there he met Megabyzus, High-priest of the Ephesian Artemis, who chanced to have come to the Olympic Games. He paid over to Xenophon a sum of money, which represented a part of the tithe of plunder devoted by the Cyreian army to Artemis and deposited with her priest. With this money Xenophon purchased an estate near his own residence, which he consecrated to the goddess, and

built thereon a chapel containing a statue, a copy in miniature of the great Ephesian temple. He appointed himself Conservator of the demesne of Artemis, which consisted largely of wild ground well stocked with game. He was an ardent sportsman; every year he held a hunting festival on a large scale, to which he invited his neighbours and entertained them lavishly at the expense of the Huntress Queen, who, he says, 'provided the fare.' At Scillus Xenophon was joined by his wife Philesia and his sons Gryllus and Diodorus; and there he lived a happy country life for twenty years, spending his time not only in sport, but in great literary labours, among which may be placed the *Anabasis*, the *Memorabilia* of his master Socrates, with its appendix the *Apology of Socrates*, and probably part of books III—VII of the *Hellenica* (see pp. xx, sqq.). The *Cyropaedia* or *Education of Cyrus the Great*, a political romance in eight books, must be ascribed to a later time. Two Socratic dialogues by Xenophon are extant, the *Oeconomicus* and the *Symposium*; also another dialogue called *Hiero* and a treatise on the *Spartan Constitution*. The *Panegyric on Agesilaus*, ascribed to Xenophon, is thought by some to be a rhetorical exercise of later date. Three essays on horses and horsemanship are assigned to the time of his residence at Scillus:—(1) the *Cavalry Officer's Manual*, (2) *on Horsemanship*, in which he specially inculcates the duty of kindness to horses, (3) *on Hunting*, the work of a keen sportsman and lover of dogs, treating chiefly of hare-hunting. The hare, in the eyes of Xenophon, is a 'charming creature to hunt.'

In 371 B.C. after the battle of Leuctra, by which the power of Sparta was finally broken, the Eleians expelled Xenophon from Scillus. He then settled at Corinth. When Sparta became the ally of Athens against Thebes, his sentence of banishment was revoked on the motion of the same Eubulus who had proposed it. Xenophon's two sons, who had been educated at Sparta under the oversight of Agesilaus, fought on the Spartan side against Epaminondas at Mantinea, 362 B.C. The elder son, Gryllus, fell fighting with great bravery in the cavalry engagement at the gates just before the general battle began. From

some passages in the essay *on the Athenian Revenues* it appears probable that towards the end of his life Xenophon spent some time at Athens. He died at Corinth. The date of his death is not known; but it cannot have been earlier than 355 B.C.

II. THE HELLENICA.

The *Hellenica* of Xenophon embraces the history of Greece from the autumn of 411 B.C. down to the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C. The work cannot have been completed till 357 B.C. at the earliest; for in VI. iv. 37 we have a reference to the death of Alexander of Pherae, which occurred in that year. Two important propositions seem to be satisfactorily established:—

(1) *The publication of the whole work was not delayed till 357 B.C. (or later).* Its composition was doubtless spread over a long time, and it was published probably in two or three instalments; the present division into seven books was not due to Xenophon himself. It seems impossible to suppose that the concluding words of Book II, *ἔτι καὶ νῦν—τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος*, were given to the world more than forty years after the Amnesty, when almost all whom it concerned must have been dead.

(2) *Book I and at least part of Book II were published separately as a sequel to the obviously unfinished work of Thucydides.* At the beginning of Book I Xenophon goes at once *in medias res* and evidently presupposes in the reader an acquaintance with the Eighth Book of Thucydides (see p. xliii).

Let us examine the *testimonia veterum* bearing on the subject. They are of no great value; but, so far as they go, they combine with certain internal evidence, which will be given afterwards, in supporting the views which I have mentioned.

(1) Diodorus xiii. 42 *Ξενοφῶν καὶ Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέλιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιήνται.*

(2) Diogenes Laertius ii. 57 *λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου*

βιβλία λανθάνοντα ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν ('brought into public notice,' 'published').

(3) Dionysius of Halicarnassus *epist. ad Pomph.* 4 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐξελέξατο καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσηκούσας, τὴν τε Κύρου παιδείαν...καὶ τὴν Ἀνάβασιν...καὶ τρίτην ἔτι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελῇ Θουκυδίδης ἐν ᾗ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον, αὖθις ἀνίστανται.

(4) Marcellinus *vita Thucydidis* 45 ἀπέθανε δὲ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ συγγράφων τὰ πράγματα τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ καὶ πρῶτου ἐνιαυτοῦ. εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ ἑπτὰ κάτεσχεν ὁ πόλεμος. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑτῶν πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὃ τε Θέοπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξειοφῶν, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν.

These passages tend to shew (a) that the unfinished work of Thucydides came into the hands of Xenophon, (b) that he published it (there being no evidence to support the view that he revised the work of Thucydides, as has been suggested by some writers), (c) that he wrote a sequel to Thucydides, bringing down the history to the end of the Peloponnesian War; and to this sequel he added a Greek History of his own. This is clearly the meaning of Dionysius and Marcellinus, who both distinguish ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἱστορία from the continuation of Thucydides' unfinished history. Some critics consider that this sequel consists of Book I and part only of Book II; but they are not agreed as to the point where the sequel ends, some placing it at iii. 10 (i.e. at the very end of the Peloponnesian War, which concluded with the capture of Samos) and others at the end of chapter ii, where we have the account of the demolition of the Long Walls, which event Thucydides himself had contemplated as the limit of his history (see note on *Hellenica* II. iii. 9).

The view that Book I and part at least of Book II were designed as a sequel to Thucydides is strongly supported by the great difference of style and treatment observable in these books, as compared with the rest of the *Hellenica*. In Book I and part of Book II Thucydides' annalistic method, i.e. a 'chronicle by summers and winters,' is retained; the events of each year are

narrated as far as possible in their chronological order. The events after the fall of Athens are grouped on a more philosophical principle, i.e. according to their logical sequence rather than their succession in time. Xenophon now writes more as a moralist than as a historian. True to his Socratic training, he feels that *σωφροσύνη* is a sovereign virtue and that *ἔβρις* brings individuals and nations to ruin, and he constantly appears to be writing with this thesis in his mind. Breitenbach illustrates the prominence of this thought by many examples from Xenophon's record of Spartan and Theban history. It is worth pointing out that in the period embraced by the later books of the *Hellenica* it would have been very difficult to adhere rigidly to the annalistic method; for there we find the different states of Greece, without any common plan of action, carrying on a desultory warfare against the Spartan supremacy. A 'chronicle by summers and winters' would have necessarily resulted in a most disjointed narrative.

Next we must enquire: 'when was the sequel to Thucydides written and published?' The life of Thucydides after his banishment in 423 B.C. is shrouded in mystery; and the date of his death is quite uncertain. If he died, as seems not unlikely, in 403 or 402 B.C., or if he relinquished his task for some other reason about that time, Xenophon might well have completed his Sequel before he left Athens in 401 B.C. to join the expedition of Cyrus. The years 403—401 would be well suited for literary work; for the great war and the domestic troubles of Athens were at an end. And it was quite natural that Xenophon should wish to commit to writing as soon as possible the stirring events of which he had been an eye-witness or which he had heard recounted by others. It has been pointed out that in *Hellenica* I and II we find very few examples of the Ionisms and Dorisms which Cobet has noticed in Xenophon and regards as evidences of residence away from the pure dialect of Athens. This is a strong argument for placing the writing of the *Hellenica* I and II early in Xenophon's life; for after leaving Athens Xenophon was undoubtedly prevented by his military occupations from doing any literary work for

some years. Some of Xenophon's censors have dwelt much on the many strange omissions in these two books and on the lack of due proportion in the narrative, as compared with the extreme literary finish of the later books. These faults may have been due to want of time for proper revision, consequent on Xenophon's wish to publish his Sequel to Thucydides before his departure from Athens.

It is very difficult to decide how much of Book II was included in the Sequel. It has been urged that the concluding words of the Book, referred to above, viz. *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος*, could not have been written as early as 401 B.C. There is much force in Prof. Mahaffy's answer to this objection. He does not consider that this sentence is any proof that many years had passed. 'The real danger,' he says, 'was during the first couple of years. These, I take it, had just elapsed, and still the Demos was firm and kept its promises. The same phrase is no doubt used in the end of his *Life of Socrates*, which must have been written ten or twelve years after the events he describes, when he says that *even still* people kept regretting his loss. But the cases are not at all parallel. Nor can it be argued that this vague phrase implies any corresponding lapse of time whenever it is used' (*History of Greek Literature*, vol. ii, p. 260). The abandonment of the annalistic method (at II. iii. 10) presents a serious difficulty. This, however, may fairly be met by Breitenbach's suggestion that Xenophon, having brought his Sequel down to the point contemplated by Thucydides, i.e. the end of the war, desires to round off his book by an epilogue, containing the account of the overthrow of the Thirty and the Restoration of the democracy,—a happier conclusion from an Athenian point of view. This epilogue he writes in his own way, untrammelled by the methods of his great predecessor.

The later books of the *Hellenica* were probably not all published at the same time. Mr Dakyns thinks he sees a natural break at the Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. (v. i. 36); and Rosenstiel (quoted by Mr Underhill) adduces linguistic evidence to support the theory. If this view is correct, the

earlier part (III—v. i. 36) was probably completed at Scillus before 373 B.C. (see p. xvii); and the later at Corinth not earlier than 357 B.C. (see p. xviii).

Some critics have maintained that the *Hellenica* is tainted with undue partiality for Sparta. There is no doubt that Xenophon was an ardent admirer of the Spartan system of education and government and that he was an attached friend of Agesilaus. But this admiration has not, as far as we know, betrayed him into any historical inaccuracy in his narrative of the years 411—362 B.C. I see no trace in Xenophon's writings of the spitefulness with which he has been credited; he is eminently good-natured. He has no real bias against Athens or any other state. His patriotism is Pan-hellenic rather than Athenian; that is all. Grote attacks Xenophon with great warmth (1) because he does not mention Epaminondas early enough or often enough in his narrative, (2) because he does not refer to the founding of Megalopolis and Messene, which were permanent evidences of Sparta's degradation. These are the worst accusations which have been brought against Xenophon's fairness as a historian. Holm maintains that these omissions are not the result of partiality. He considers that the scanty reference to the two Theban heroes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, is due to the fact that Xenophon, with his old-fashioned republican ideas, prefers to mention the community—οἱ Θεβαῖοι—rather than the generals, and also to his habit of never giving prominence to persons unless he has to describe individual traits of character. The failure to mention the founding of Megalopolis and Messene Holm considers to be a historical defect, but not one caused by partiality; for 'Xenophon had no gift for universal history and only related events of which he believed he had some special knowledge'; and he goes on to adduce from the *Hellenica* several striking examples of Xenophon's impartiality.

'Xenophon's importance,' writes Holm elsewhere, 'lies in the fact that he applied the simple love of truth, which is the leading trait of the Socratic teaching, to the narration of history. What chiefly prepossesses us in his favour is his great and

genuinely Socratic modesty. This modesty, which distinguishes Xenophon as a man, reappears in the historian who relates what he believes that he knows, certainly *sine ira*, if not quite *sine studio*, and to whom we are nevertheless indebted for the only trustworthy and clear account of the period from 411—362.'

III. OTHER AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD CONTAINED IN HELLENICA, BOOKS I AND II.

It has been pointed out that there are a considerable number of omissions in Xenophon's narrative. Grote has shewn great skill in filling up gaps from other sources. The best supplementary authority now available, the Aristotelian *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, was not open to him except in very meagre fragments. Some remarks on the various authorities will be useful.

(1) ARISTOTLE'S *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*. The *editio princeps* of this treatise appeared in 1891; it was edited by Mr F. G. Kenyon from a papyrus belonging to the first or second century of our era, which had been discovered in Egypt and acquired by the British Museum. Dr Sandys, at the conclusion of an exhaustive discussion on the authorship of the treatise, writes:— 'Assuming, as we fairly may, that the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* was a work of Aristotelian origin, it may still remain uncertain whether it was prepared for publication by the great teacher himself or by some unknown and unnamed pupil who was skilled in certain graces of style that were apt to win the popular ear. The latter hypothesis might help to account for certain divergences from the diction of the generally accepted works of Aristotle. To the interposition of such an editor we might perhaps attribute the general smoothness of style that marks its composition. To the same source we might possibly trace certain inaccuracies of historical statement that tend to impair the authority of the work. But even Aristotle himself may have been quite capable of making a mistake in matters of history. The *master of those who know* was not necessarily

omniscient.' The treatise is divided into two parts, (1) a sketch of the constitutional history of Athens down to 403 B.C. (chapters 1—41), (2) an account of the machinery of the Constitution (42—end). I proceed to shew the importance of the book in relation to *Hellenica* I and II.

(a) **The history of the Thirty and the Restoration of the Democracy.** For this part of the history the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία is especially valuable, since it both supplements and illustrates Xenophon's narrative. Many examples will be pointed out in the notes.

(b) **Character of Theramenes.** Ἀθ. πολ. 28 '*The best Athenian statesmen after those of early days appear to have been Nicias, Thucydides (i.e. the son of Melesias), and Theramenes...As to Theramenes there is a difference of opinion, because in his time the political world was in a disturbed state. But those who state their views deliberately hold him to be, not as his censors falsely declare, a destroyer of every constitution, but a supporter of them as long as they did not transgress the laws, proving that he was able to live under any form of government, as is the duty of a good citizen, while steadily setting his face against illegality.*' This is a very interesting judgment and by no means undeserved; for Theramenes was not an unprincipled turncoat, as some have asserted. At the time of the Four Hundred he saved Athens by renouncing the Oligarchs when he found that they were rushing to extremities; and under the Thirty he sacrificed his life in making the same attempt under similar circumstances. There are, however, two passages in the life of Theramenes which admit of no defence, (1) his extraordinary conduct at the trial of the Arginusae generals, (2) his manifest treachery during the negotiations for the capitulation of Athens.

(c) **The trial of the Arginusae Generals.** Ἀθ. πολ. 34 '*In the seventh year after the overthrow of the Four Hundred, during the archonship of Callias of Angele, after the battle of Arginusae, the ten victorious generals were all condemned by a single show of hands, the people being deceived by those who worked upon their feelings; though some of the generals had taken no part in*

the battle, and some were saved on another ship' (and therefore had no opportunity to pick up those on the wrecks). This passage is interesting, not as giving any fresh information, but as shewing that the author of the treatise is by no means infallible. Dr Sandys points out several inaccuracies:—(1) the archonship of Callias was in the *sixth* year after the overthrow of the Four Hundred; (2) eight generals only were put on their trial, and the six who returned to Athens (the other two declining to do so) were put to death; Conon was not present at the battle as he was blockaded in the harbour of Mytilene, and Archestratus died at Mytilene (Lysias xxi. 8); (3) the final verdict was given by ballot, only the vote on the rival motions being taken by show of hands, as we learn from Xenophon; (4) only one of the generals appears to have been picked up from a wreck.

(d) **Spartan overtures for peace after Arginusae.** 'Αθ. πολ. 34
'When the Spartans offered to leave Deceleia and to make peace on condition of a status quo, some of the Athenians were eager to accede to the proposal, but the majority would have nothing to say to it; they were taken in by Cleophon who entered the Ecclesia intoxicated and wearing a breastplate, and prevented peace being made, declaring that he would not allow it unless the Spartans gave up all the cities of their alliance. The Athenians failed to use this opportunity and soon found out their mistake.' This passage is very important. The terms put forward are the duplicate of those which, according to Diodorus (xiii. 52), were proposed by Sparta after the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C. and opposed by Cleophon; see note on *Hellenica* i. i. 23. Xenophon does not mention these overtures on either occasion. Mr Kenyon points out (1) that it is by no means improbable that the Spartans should have been willing to propose a peace after so severe a defeat as Arginusae, especially as peace on the terms proposed would leave Athens deprived of nearly all her maritime empire; (2) if there is any confusion as to the real date of the Spartan proposals, it is more likely to be on the part of Diodorus than of the author of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. Our passage is referred to by the scholiast on

Aristophanes, *Ranae* 1532. Grote, thinking that the scholiast was guilty of a misquotation, considered his story to be a confusion with the proposals spoken of by Diodorus. The discovery of the Aristotelian treatise seems to have settled a very difficult question.

(2) THE ATTIC ORATORS ANDOCIDES, ISOCRATES, AND LYSIAS. It will be seen from the notes in this edition that Lysias is especially useful as a supplementary authority, notably in his speeches against Eratosthenes (*no.* xii) and against Agoratus (*no.* xiii). Owing to the circumstances of his life he is by no means free from political bias. 'Stripped of a great part of his fortune by the Thirty Tyrants and further straitened, probably, by his generosity to the Exiles, Lysias seems now (i.e. in 403 B.C.) to have settled down to hard work at Athens. His activity as a writer of speeches for the law-courts falls, as far as we know, between the years 403 and 380 B.C. That it must have been great and constant, is shewn by the fact that Dionysius speaks of him as having written not fewer than 200 forensic speeches. First in time and first too in importance among the extant orations of Lysias is that against Eratosthenes, in whom he saw not only one of the Thirty Tyrants but the murderer of his brother Polemarchus. The speech of Lysias, memorable as a display of eloquence, valuable too as a sufferer's picture of a dreadful time, has this further interest, that it is the only forensic speech known to have been spoken by Lysias himself, and that it marks his only personal contact with the politics of Athens.'—JEBB, *Attic Orators*, vol. i, p. 152.

(3) DIODORUS SICULUS, of Agyrium in Sicily. He lived in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus, and wrote a universal history in 40 books, called *the Historical Library*. Fifteen books are still extant, among them books xiii. and xiv, parts of which deal with our period. As will be seen from the notes in this edition, Diodorus is sometimes useful in supplementing Xenophon, but he must be used with great caution. For the years 411–404 B.C. he seems to have followed in the main the lost *Hellenica* of Theopompus, and for the years 404–403 B.C.

the *Ἱστορίαι* of Ephorus. Theopompus was a warm partisan of Sparta, and his bias is reflected in the history of Diodorus as long as he borrows from this writer. Further, the chronology of Diodorus is utterly deceptive. He aimed at writing a general history in annalistic form; but, as Holm points out, his year is a 'chronological monstrosity,' because he heads it with the names of Athenian Archons and Roman Consuls who did not hold office during the same period, and after all he never writes as an annalist, but on a system of his own, i.e. according to the hidden relations of events. Moreover he is far too fond of gorgeous descriptions which appear to have little foundation in fact, e.g. his account of Alcibiades' return to Athens, which contrasts strangely with Xenophon's unembellished narrative. Holm gives an amusing analysis of Diodorus' regulation battle-piece, of which the main elements are (1) shouting, (2) bravery, and (3) good luck.

(4) PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF ALCIBIADES AND LYSANDER. Plutarch lived under the early Roman Empire. He is a moralist, not a historian. He aims at depicting individual character and is fond of anecdote, and endeavours to make each of his biographies a miniature work of art, paying far more attention to connexion of subject than to chronological sequence. In his lives of Alcibiades and Lysander it is thought that Plutarch used both Theopompus and Ephorus, with a preference for the latter, who was certainly the more truthful historian. Plutarch sometimes helps us to fill up, not to correct, Xenophon's narrative.

(5) INSCRIPTIONS. Several financial inscriptions of this period are useful. One of these (*Corpus Inscr. Att.* i. 188) shews that the impoverished treasury of Athens was replenished owing to the victory at Cyzicus in 410 B.C. We learn from this inscription that 16 talents were spent in that year on the *διωβελία* (see note on *Hellenica* I. vii. 2); this is thought to have been the first of the distributions of public money to be renewed. It appears that three inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. 57, 58, 61) also belonging to this time, which point to a fresh list of the laws being compiled by *συγγραφεὺς* and subordinate *ἀναγραφεῖς*,

have reference to the complete restoration of the democracy after the battle of Cyzicus; see p. xl. A decree which belongs to 410 B.C. and commends Neopolis in Thrace for fidelity to Athens is given by Mr Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 57. It appears that this town, a colony of Thasos, remained faithful to Athens, though Thasos revolted; cf. *Hellenica* I. i. 32, iv. 9. In I. iii. 10 Xenophon just mentions the capture of Selymbria by Alcibiades. It was really a very important event. An inscription (Hicks, no. 58) contains a decree on the subject moved by Alcibiades and gives in detail the conditions upon which Selymbria was restored to the Athenian alliance.

IV. SKETCH OF GREEK HISTORY FROM THE ATHENIAN DISASTER IN SICILY TO THE BATTLE OF CYNOSSEMA.

In the autumn of 413 B.C. the news of the utter destruction of the Athenian armament in Sicily rudely awakened the people of Athens from the dreams of world-wide empire in which they had indulged. Their men, money and ships had been wasted; their naval prestige was gone; their confederacy would rapidly fall to pieces; their ablest general, Alcibiades, had already entered the service of Sparta, to whose interests he was devoting himself with all the energy of a renegade. They vented their indignation on the leaders of the War Party, the demagogues who had promoted the expedition to Sicily. The Athenian losses were not merely material; self-confidence too was gone; the people had lost faith in their constitution. Democracy was discredited; and the Middle Party—οἱ διὰ μέσου (Thuc. viii. 75) or οἱ σώφρονες (iv. 28)—now became a power in Athenian politics¹. Such men

¹ The Middle Party 'usually accepted the constitution as it was and worked loyally under it. They were opportunists on this point, and so long as the constitution in existence was not guilty of flagrant excess and ensured a general security, they were content. Hence they went with the stream and acquiesced in democracy, till the current of events set in the direction of oligarchy, when they made no attempt to resist the movement. Many men indeed who usually acted with this party

would feel that the main cause of their calamities was the frivolous haste with which momentous issues had been decided in the Ἐκκλησία on the motion of the democratic leaders; the Βουλή of 500 had not proved a sufficient safeguard; a smaller Council was needed. It was doubtless owing to the influence of this party that a board of ten Πρόβουλοι were appointed, consisting of men of mature years, whose chief duty was to prepare and lay before the Assembly such measures as from time to time might be required. Hagnon, the founder of Amphipolis and adoptive father of Theramenes, was one of their number. The people at large, feeling that Athens must now fight for her very existence, were ready to submit to discipline and to husband their remaining resources to the uttermost.

The Athenian disaster produced extraordinary excitement in the Greek world throughout the following winter (413—412 B.C.). The states which had hitherto remained neutral were now eager to attack Athens; the war, they thought, could not last long and they might as well have a share in the glory of it. The subjects of the Athenians were everywhere ready to revolt; in their enthusiasm they felt sure that Athens could not survive another campaign. The members of the Peloponnesian confederacy were more eager than ever to put a speedy end to the hardships which they had so long endured. All this was most satisfactory to the Spartans; and they had besides the hope that their allies from Sicily would join them in the spring with a large force of ships and men. Athens once overthrown, they would be the undisputed leaders of Hellas. It was arranged that the Spartans and their

desired to see a moderate oligarchy established, and the revolutions of 411 and 404 were both carried out with their help....The party was not homogeneous and so did not pursue one ideal of government. We can see, however, by their action, when placed in power, what were the principles which commanded their united support. They desired a limitation of democracy in two particulars. They wished (1) to limit the absolute power of the people, either by restricting the franchise or by defining the powers of the Assembly; (2) to abolish pay for state services (except in the army).’—WHIBLEY, *Parties in Athens*, p. 95.

allies should build a fleet of a hundred ships ; and other preparations were pushed forward, in order that the war might be prosecuted with vigour when spring set in. Meanwhile the Athenians were building more ships, fortifying Sunium for the protection of corn-ships sailing to the Peiraeus, and, above all, keeping a strict watch over their allies.

In the spring 412 B.C. the revolt began. The first member of the Athenian confederacy to open negotiations with King Agis was Euboea. Agis had fortified Deceleia (14 miles from Athens) in the previous spring (413 B.C.) and by his incursions thence had inflicted great damage on the Athenians. He seems to have established a sort of independent government there and to have exercised greater influence in Greece than the Spartan authorities at home. Fortunately for Athens, the Spartans had not the means to support simultaneously their adherents in different places ; so Agis deferred the sending of aid to Euboea, preferring to help Lesbos which was also anxious to revolt. While he was supporting Lesbos, envoys arrived at Sparta from Chios and Erythrae offering to revolt from Athens. They were accompanied by an envoy from Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap at Sardis, who undertook to maintain a Peloponnesian fleet, if it were sent to Ionia ; for he hoped (1) to induce the cities in his province to revolt from Athens, that he might get the tribute from them, (2) to obtain the credit of securing the Spartans as allies of the Great King. While these negotiations were in progress, an embassy arrived from Pharnabazus, satrap of the province of Dascylium (which included the southern shore of the Propontis), inviting Sparta to despatch a fleet to the Hellespont, his object being identical with that of Tissaphernes. There was great difference of opinion at Sparta on the subject. Alcibiades threw the weight of his influence on to the side of Tissaphernes and the Chians, who finally gained the day ; for it was felt that the satrapy of Tissaphernes was the most suitable scene of operations. Agis, who had originally favoured an expedition to Lesbos, acquiesced in this policy. But the efforts of the Spartans seemed doomed to failure. The Athenians, having detected the designs of the Chians, forced

them to surrender seven ships as a pledge of fidelity to the alliance; and they also had the good fortune to blockade a Peloponnesian squadron in Speiraeum (not Peiraeum, as it is generally called), a harbour in the territory of Corinth.

The Spartans were greatly disheartened and seemed inclined to give up the expedition to Ionia. But Alcibiades displayed great energy, and asked to be allowed to put to sea with five ships. He sailed for Ionia accompanied by the Spartan Chalcideus. Chios and Erythrae he encouraged to persevere in their revolt, and induced Clazomenae to throw off the Athenian yoke. The Athenians now realised the magnitude of their danger. The revolt of Chios had created a tremendous impression; it was regarded as the signal for a general revolt among the allies of Athens. Chios had been considered to be the jewel amongst her allied cities, in the words of the poet Eupolis 'the fair city which sends warships and men, whenever need arises, and is ever obedient like a steed that needs not the whip.' Accordingly it was resolved at Athens to send a large fleet to Chios. Meanwhile Alcibiades and Chalcideus, having chased eight Athenian ships under Strombichides to Samos, succeeded in raising a revolt in Miletus. Immediately afterwards the Spartans made their first alliance with the Great King. It was negotiated by Tissaphernes and Chalcideus. By this treaty the Greek cities in Ionia were recognised as belonging to Persia.

The Chians were exhibiting great zeal in the cause of Sparta. They had induced Lebedos and Erae to revolt, and now sent a fleet to Lesbos, which raised a revolt in Mitylene and Methymna. But owing to the characteristic inertness of the Spartan admiral Astyochus, who had come to assist Chios, the Athenians were enabled to recapture Mytilene and to recover the whole of Lesbos. Soon afterwards Clazomenae returned to the Athenian alliance. An Athenian squadron of 20 ships stationed at the island of Lade made a successful descent on the territory of Miletus; Chalcideus the Spartan general, who came out to oppose them, was slain. The Athenian fleet at Lesbos carried on the war against the

Chians, who suffered great hardships and were defeated in three battles.

In September 412 B.C. considerable reinforcements arrived from Athens, viz. 48 triremes and 3,500 hoplites; and the Athenians gained a victory in a land battle under the walls of Miletus. But on the evening of the same day news was brought that a hostile fleet, under Therimenes, was approaching, consisting of 33 Peloponnesian and 22 Sicilian ships. Alcibiades had told them that, if they did not want to ruin their fortunes in Ionia and everywhere else, they must break up the blockade of Miletus at once. On the advice of their general Phrynichus, who overruled his colleagues, the Athenians did not await the arrival of the fleet of Therimenes, but retired to Samos. In the following winter 35 ships arrived from Athens at Samos, where the generals assembled their whole fleet and resolved on a redistribution of their forces. Strombichides and two other generals were sent to Chios with 33 ships. The other generals remained at Samos with the remaining 74, and prepared to make another descent upon Miletus. Shortly before this the oligarchy in Samos had been overthrown by the democrats of the island; this was a great advantage to the Athenians. Samos had now a position of great importance (1) as the naval base of the Athenians, (2) as a democratic stronghold both of the islanders and of the *ναυτικὸς ἔχλος*, which was the embodiment of all that was best in Athenian democracy. The Athenians endeavoured to hold their own along the whole coast line of Ionia, but in a desultory fashion. They pressed Chios hard, made some attempts on Miletus, and fought a battle at Cnidus. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians were in difficulties; there was no satisfactory union among them, and they had no real commander-in-chief. Moreover, differences arose between them and Tissaphernes with regard to the amount of pay to be furnished by the Great King. These differences were adjusted by a second treaty rather more favourable to the Peloponnesians (December 412 B.C.).

The Spartan admiral Astyochus had learnt that the Spartan government were about to send out eleven commissioners to

enquire into his conduct. Anxious therefore to get out of his present position, he proceeded to Rhodes with a fleet of 94 sail, and persuaded the islanders to revolt from Athens. The Athenians, who had heard of their intention, brought up their fleet from Samos, but were too late to forestall them. They returned to Samos and contented themselves with making occasional descents upon Rhodes, where the Peloponnesian fleet remained inactive for nearly three months (till the end of March 411 B.C.). Doubtless this was partly due to the failure of Tissaphernes to fulfil his promises. But Astyochus must have been much to blame for this prolonged inaction. Before the Peloponnesians had moved to Rhodes, the proceedings of Alcibiades had aroused suspicion at Sparta, and Astyochus received orders to put him to death. Alcibiades in alarm retired to Tissaphernes and used all his efforts to ruin the Peloponnesian cause. At once he prevailed upon him (1) to cut down the pay of the sailors, and (2) to refuse further pecuniary aid to the cities which had revolted from Athens. He also recommended him to wear out the Greeks in mutual strife, adding that the Athenians were more suitable allies for the Great King; for they were a naval power and therefore less likely to encroach on his dominions than the Spartans, who had moreover given themselves out as the liberators of the Hellenic cities in Asia. Tissaphernes, following his advice, kept the Peloponnesian fleet ill-provided, and told them not to fight till he brought up the Phoenician fleet of 147 ships to their assistance. Alcibiades was really preparing the way for his own return from exile¹; he felt that his restoration could be more

¹ Holm gives a good account of the designs of Alcibiades at this time:—‘He wanted to be recalled, but this was not an easy matter after all that had happened; he was therefore obliged to have recourse to exceedingly crooked measures. He judged, and rightly, that he could not maintain his position permanently in Athens unless he brought the Athenians not only security abroad, but the safety of the democracy at home. He might hold out a plausible prospect of the former by means of his connexion with Tissaphernes; but if the latter was to be due to his influence, it was necessary that further revolutions should take place

easily effected, if he was seen to have great influence with Tissaphernes. Accordingly in the spring of 411 B.C. he opened negotiations with some of the leading Athenians at Samos, offering to cast in his lot with them, on condition that they abolished the 'villainous democracy' which had driven him out.

A conspiracy was formed in the Athenian armament; and it was given out that the Great King would be the friend of the Athenians and would supply them with money if Alcibiades was restored and the democracy abolished. Phrynichus, one of the Athenian generals, alone saw through the plot. 'What,' he asked, 'does Alcibiades care about oligarchy? Why should the Great King go out of his way to make friends with his old enemies the Athenians?' But his opposition had no effect, any more than his treasonable communications with Astyochus immediately afterwards. The conspirators sent Peisander and other envoys to Athens in order to bring about the recall of Alcibiades and the overthrow of the democracy. Their proposals at first aroused violent indignation at Athens; but when Peisander urged that there was no other alternative, a decree was passed that he and ten other commissioners should go out and negotiate with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades. Having procured the dismissal of Phrynichus from his command and having exhorted all the oligarchical clubs in Athens to unite in abolishing the democracy, Peisander left Athens with his colleagues. The Athenian commissioners began their negotiations with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades; but they soon discovered that they had been duped, and departed in high dudgeon to Samos. Meanwhile Tissaphernes continued his policy of holding the balance evenly between the two contending powers, and turned once more to the Peloponnesians. He

in Athens; for his enemy Androcles was now leader of the people. But the democracy was seriously menaced; if it were overthrown and then restored by his agency, his fortune was assured. Alcibiades could not afford to wait for others to overthrow it; he was bound to do this himself. If after that he could re-establish it, his object would be gained.'

made a third treaty, on behalf of the Great King, with Sparta (March 411 B.C.). This treaty was more favourable to Sparta than the other two, inasmuch as it limited the King's rights to the mainland of Asia. Tissaphernes once more furnished the Peloponnesian fleet with supplies, and gave out again that he was bringing up the Phoenician ships to their assistance.

Peisander and his colleagues, on their return to Samos, decided to leave Alcibiades severely alone ; for they felt that he was not the sort of person who was suited to an oligarchy. But they determined to return to Athens and to proceed with their schemes for the abolition of the democracy. On their voyage they set up oligarchies in several cities. When they reached Athens, they found the revolution more than half accomplished by the secret societies, who found their work an easy one, seeing that the strength of the democracy was in the 'naval rabble' at Samos. Androcles the leading demagogue, who had been foremost in procuring the banishment of Alcibiades, had been secretly assassinated ; and a few other inconvenient persons had also been made away with. The oligarchs had published their programme. No one, they said, ought to receive pay except for military service ; not more than 5000 should have a share in the government, viz. those who were best able to serve the state in person and with their money, i.e., as we should say, those who 'had a stake in the country.' This programme was evidently put forward chiefly with the view of conciliating the Middle Party ; for these proposals were among their cherished ideas (see p. xxix). Really the authors of the revolution intended to retain the government in their own hands. For the time they were supreme, instituting a Reign of Terror, while the people, owing to mutual suspicion and ignorance of the dimensions of the conspiracy, failed to combine against them. Such was the state of things which Peisander and his colleagues found on their arrival at Athens. They at once set to work to strike the final blow. The people were persuaded to hand over the drafting of the proposed reforms to a committee (of *ten*, according to Thucydides viii. 67 ; of *thirty*, according to Aristotle 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία 29). The Assembly

was summoned to meet in the temple of Poseidon at Colonus. The committee first carried a resolution abolishing the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* 'indictment for illegal proposals.' This was one of the safeguards of the democratic constitution, and its repeal was therefore necessary before any revolutionary changes could be introduced. A motion was then made to abolish existing magistracies and the payment of magistrates, and to elect a presiding board of five; these five to choose a hundred, and each of the hundred to co-opt three others (according to Thucydides). It is very difficult to reconcile with this the statement on the subject given in Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* 31). The Four Hundred thus selected were to meet in the Council-chamber; they were to have absolute power; the Five Thousand were to be summoned by them whenever they thought fit. In the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* a detailed account of the new constitution is given; but, as this was only a 'paper constitution' never carried into effect, owing to the overthrow of the Four Hundred four months afterwards, it need not be reproduced here. The proposer of the new constitution was Peisander; but the real author of the scheme was Antiphon, the celebrated speech-writer. Theramenes, who may be considered the leader of the Middle Party, was, according to Thucydides, one of the chief promoters of the revolution; but, if we are to judge from the general character of Theramenes who seems to have been a thorough opportunist, it seems probable that he was not so much an author of the revolution as one of the first to adapt himself to it, hoping that a government based on a limited franchise would be ultimately introduced. The conspirators went to the Council-chamber, where the *Βουλὴ* of Five Hundred were assembled; they informed them of their dismissal, giving them their pay for the year. The members dispersed quietly to their homes.

The Four Hundred governed Athens with a high hand. Those whom they thought better out of the way they put to death; others they imprisoned or banished. They also opened negotiations with Agis, who was still at Deceleia, offering to make peace. The Spartan King, thinking that Athens must

be in a distracted state, refused to treat with them and marched with a large army up to the very walls of the city, hoping to find it quite at his mercy. But he soon discovered his mistake and returned to Deceleia. The Four Hundred resumed their negotiations with him ; and by his advice they sent envoys to Sparta. They also despatched ten commissioners to the Fleet at Samos to make an apology for their proceedings and to explain that the promoters of the revolution were 5000, not merely 400 ; but that, owing to the pressure of war, so many as 5000 had not yet assembled to deliberate. They were afraid, not without reason, that disaffection would begin at Samos and end in their overthrow. Indeed a reaction had already set in against the oligarchical movement in Samos. At the instigation of Peisander, 300 Samians aided by some Athenian accomplices had organised a conspiracy against the democracy. They assassinated Hyperbolus the ostracised Athenian demagogue, and committed other deeds of violence. When they were about to attack the Samian democrats, the crews of the Athenian Fleet interfered. Foremost among them were Thrasybulus, a trierarch, and Thrasyllus, a hoplite belonging to the state trireme *Paralus*, the crew of which were stalwart democrats. Thus the Samian popular party gained the day. Of the 300 they put to death about 30 and banished three ; the rest they forgave and henceforward all lived together under a democracy. Chaereas, the commander of the *Paralus*, who was sent to Athens to report the defeat of the Samian oligarchs, was made prisoner on his arrival ; but he subsequently escaped and brought back the news of the establishment of the Four Hundred and gave a grossly exaggerated account of their tyrannical proceedings. This intelligence raised a storm of indignation in the Athenian Fleet.

Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus thought that the time had come for the open proclamation of democracy in Samos. They bound the Athenian soldiers and sailors by a solemn oath to maintain a democracy, to be enemies of the Four Hundred, and vigorously to prosecute the war with Sparta. The men of Samos took the same oath ; and the Athenians resolved to make common cause

with them in their dangers. An assembly was then held at which the old Athenian generals were deposed and new ones chosen ; among these Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus naturally found a place. The Athenian Fleet and the Athenian City had now become two distinct communities. The sailors were in the highest spirits. ‘The City,’ they said, ‘has revolted from us, not we from the City. They are few, we are many. Having the whole fleet we can force the subject states to pay tribute just as if the Peiræus were our base, and we are better able to obtain supplies than the Athenians at home. We have lost nothing in losing those who can provide neither money nor wise counsel, and who have overthrown the constitution which we mean to maintain at all hazards. Moreover, Alcibiades, if we procure his recall, will gain for us the alliance of the Great King.’

Presently Thrasybulus, having obtained for Alcibiades a full pardon from the Athenians at Samos, brought him to the island. An assembly was called, in which Alcibiades inspired the fleet with splendid hopes of victory. Tissaphernes, he said, would bring up the Phœnician ships now at Aspendus to help Athens instead of Sparta ; but he would not trust the Athenians unless Alcibiades were restored and became surety for them. The fleet at once appointed Alcibiades a colleague of their other generals. Despising their Peloponnesian adversaries, they were eager to sail at once for the Peiræus and wreak their vengeance on the Four Hundred. But Alcibiades restrained their ardour, saying that the conduct of the war against Sparta must be their chief care ; and he went straight to Tissaphernes, who was now in bad odour with the Peloponnesian fleet owing to his remissness in providing their pay. The Spartan admiral Astyochus was also very unpopular ; and the home authorities superseded him by the appointment of Mindarus. After the return of Alcibiades to Samos, envoys from the Four Hundred reached the island ; they attempted to address the assembly, but were received with cries of ‘Death to the subverters of democracy !’ They were afterwards suffered to defend the action of the Four Hundred ; but their audience

again grew furious and were again eager to sail to the Peiræus. The tact of Alcibiades once more gained the day. He saw that, if the Fleet began a civil war against the oligarchs at home, Ionia and the Hellespont would be at the mercy of the Spartans.

The envoys of the Four Hundred returned to Athens with a conciliatory message from Alcibiades, bidding them hold out against the Spartans and dwelling on his great hopes of reconciling the Fleet to the City and of overcoming the enemy. The more moderate of the oligarchs now saw a means of escape from their false position. Theramenes and Aristocrates, who had been among the chief authors of the revolution, were now anxious that the aspirations of the Middle Party should be realised and began to maintain that the Five Thousand ought to be established in reality and not only in name. But the extreme oligarchs, such as Phrynichus, Aristarchus, Peisander, and Antiphon, were quite ready to betray Athens to the Spartans in order to save their own power. Accordingly (1) they despatched for the third time an embassy to Sparta to obtain peace on any tolerable terms, (2) they proceeded actively with the fortification of Eëtioneia, which had been already begun. Eëtioneia was a promontory at the western end of the Peiræus; and the oligarchs wished to fortify and occupy it, in order to admit the enemy into the harbour whenever they pleased. A Spartan squadron which was hovering off the coast of Attica was thought to be acting in concert with the Four Hundred. Discontent was now rife. Phrynichus, who was a member of the embassy to Sparta, was assassinated on his return. The hoplites employed in the fortification of Eëtioneia, with the connivance of Theramenes and the assistance of a mob from the Peiræus, proceeded to demolish the works, crying out 'Whoever wishes the Five Thousand to rule, let him come and help us!' The soldiers then marched up towards the City; they were met by a deputation from the Four Hundred with a promise to publish the names of the Five Thousand. Meanwhile the Spartan squadron was descried sailing along the coast of Salamis, and there was great consternation at

Athens. But it passed onward, doubled the promontory of Sunium and proceeded to Euboea. A small Athenian fleet, under Thymochares, was sent in pursuit, but it was utterly defeated. The whole of Euboea, except Oreus, fell into the hands of Sparta. The Athenians were in despair: the Fleet at Samos had revolted; they had no more ships; civil war was imminent at home; the enemy were all but in the Peiraeus; and Euboea, on which they depended for supplies, was lost. But Athens was saved by the supineness of the Spartans. 'On this,' says Thucydides, 'as on many other occasions the Peloponnesians proved to be the most convenient of enemies.'

An Assembly was held in the Pnyx; the Four Hundred were deposed after having ruled for four months (May to September 411 B.C., as appears from Aristotle *'Αθ. πολ.* 33). The *Βουλή* was restored, and political power was placed in the hands of the Five Thousand. This number was to include all who could provide themselves with arms; and no one was to receive pay for holding any office. The name of the Five Thousand was now an inaccurate title; but it was retained, for people had during the last few months become accustomed to it. It is thought that there cannot have been less than 9000 persons of hoplite census at this time. *Νομοθέται* were appointed to elaborate the details of the constitution. Theramenes and Aristocrates, the leaders of the Middle Party, were chiefly responsible for this revolution; they had now a constitution after their own heart¹. 'This government,' says Thucydides,

¹ This constitution did not last long. Cf. Aristotle *'Αθ. πολ.* 34 *τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀφείλετο τὴν πολιτείαν ὁ δῆμος διὰ τάχους*. Curtius (after Vischer) holds that the victory of Cyzicus in 410 B.C. brought about a return to complete democracy. 'The limitation of the universal right of suffrage had after all only been carried into effect as a financial measure in connexion with the abolition of public salaries; it was a step believed to be required by the prevailing want. But at the present moment (after the victory of Cyzicus) both money and confidence in future victories were at hand....The exclusion of the poorer classes from full civic rights appeared as a crying injustice, when only the other day the sailors had fought with greater valour than ever on behalf of

'was the best the Athenians ever had during my memory. Oligarchy and democracy were duly blended in it. And so, after the wretched state into which she had sunk, Athens was able again to lift up her head.' Similarly Aristotle in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* remarks: 'The constitution of the state seems to have been admirable during this period, since it was a time of war and the franchise was in the hands of those who possessed a military equipment.' The people also passed a decree recalling Alcibiades, and requested him and the fleet at Samos to act with vigour. Meanwhile Peisander and the other extreme oligarchs made off to Deceleia, all except Aristarchus who went to Oenoe, an Athenian fort on the Boeotian frontier, and betrayed it to the Boeotians; he was afterwards put to death in Athens.

During the summer of 411 B.C. Mindarus transferred the Peloponnesian Fleet to the Hellespont, whither sixteen of his ships had already sailed. He had come to the conclusion that Tissaphernes was thoroughly dishonest. The Fleet had been waiting at Miletus; but no pay came for the crews, and no Phoenician ships arrived from Aspendus. Mindarus therefore decided to abandon the Ionian war entirely and to transfer operations to a quarter, whence the importation of corn to Athens was more indispensable than ever since the loss of Euboea. Thus her very existence was threatened. The new plan of operations had already been begun. At the beginning

their native city....The income derived from the pay for attendance on the public assemblies and juries was doubly welcome to the common people. Even the festival payments were once more made, without the necessity of a war-treasure being considered in the midst of the most dangerous war....Simultaneously the demagogues reappear, whose voices had been mute since the death of Androcles. Among them Cleophon came most prominently forward. After the fashion of Cleon, he zealously declaimed on behalf of the rights and liberties of the people and inveighed against the calmer counsels of the Moderate Party and above all against any settlement with Sparta.' The decree of Demophantus relating to the oath to maintain the democracy, and probably belonging to 410 or 409 B.C., proves that the full democracy was restored by that time. See also p. xxvii.

of the present summer Dercyllidas with a land force had brought about the revolt of Abydos and Lampsacus from Athens; Lampsacus was soon recovered. Further, Clearchus had induced the important city of Byzantium to revolt. At the invitation of Pharnabazus, Mindarus set sail from Miletus with 73 ships, pursued by an Athenian fleet of 55 sail from Samos; but he was able to reach Rhoeteium in the Hellespont. An Athenian squadron of 18 ships at Sestos escaped from the Peloponnesian fleet with some loss, and joined the main Athenian fleet. The Spartans occupied the Asiatic, the Athenians the European side of the Hellespont. Then followed the battle of Cynossema between 88 Peloponnesian and 76 Athenian ships. The Peloponnesians attempted to shut up the enemy in the strait. Thrasybulus almost gave them the victory by a movement which weakened the Athenian centre; but, while the Peloponnesians were incautiously pursuing, they fell into disorder, of which he at once took advantage and by a sudden turn threw them into irretrievable confusion. The enemy's loss was 21 ships, that of the Athenian 15. They afterwards captured eight more Peloponnesian ships. They next recovered Cyzicus, which had revolted from Athens. Meanwhile the Peloponnesian Fleet sailed from Abydos to Elaeus on the southern point of the Thracian Chersonese. When the unexpected news of the victory of Cynossema reached Athens, the people were overjoyed; they felt that their state was no longer hopeless, and that if they were energetic they might still win.

Alcibiades had now returned to Samos, giving out that it was owing to his influence that the Phoenician fleet had not come to the help of the enemy, and that he had made Tissaphernes a greater friend of Athens than ever. Tissaphernes had discovered that the Spartans were now his determined enemies. Accordingly he made up his mind to visit the sphere of his rival Pharnabazus and complain to the Spartans of the treatment he had received from them, offering at the same time the most plausible defence he could concerning the delay of the Phoenician fleet and their other charges. 'He first went to Ephesus and there offered sacrifice to Artemis.'

With these words the history of Thucydides suddenly breaks off. If, as seems almost certain, Xenophon's *Hellenica* is a designed continuation of Thucydides' work (see p. xix), the concluding chapters of the Eighth Book of Thucydides must have been lost. There is clearly a break in the history, extending over several weeks, between the end of our present text of Thucydides and the beginning of the *Hellenica*; Sievers holds that the interval amounts to 40 days. Neither book contains any mention (1) of the movement of the Athenian Fleet from Cyzicus (see p. xlii) to the Hellespont, where we find it in *Hellenica* I. i. 2, (2) of the movement of the Spartan Fleet from Elaeus (see p. xlii) to Abydos, where we find it in *Hellenica* I. i. 5. Similarly information is lacking about the movements of Thymochares, Agesandridas, Dorieus, Alcibiades, and Theramenes; e.g. Thucydides' last mention of Theramenes is while he was still at Athens; in *Hellenica* I. i. 12 he is sailing from Macedonia. Of course it may be urged that the beginning of the *Hellenica* has been lost; but the sudden interruption of the narrative at the end of the Eighth Book of Thucydides points to the conclusion suggested above.

Marcellinus, the author of the life of Thucydides generally prefixed to editions of his history, states that some people held that the Eighth Book was not the work of Thucydides. Some said that it was written by his daughter, others by Xenophon. Having contemptuously dismissed the first view, Marcellinus says:—*ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ Ξενοφώντος ἐστὶν ὁ χαρακτήρ μόνον οὐχὶ βοᾷ*, 'That the book is not by Xenophon either, the style itself almost proclaims aloud.' 'Neither,' he continues, 'could it have been written by Theopompus, as some think.' He adds that the 'finer' critics attributed the book to Thucydides. Mure favours the view that the Eighth Book was revised and edited by Xenophon. But surely, if there is one thing self-evident about the composition of the book, it is the absence of any final revision. As we have seen above (p. xix) there is reason to believe that Xenophon had the history of Thucydides entrusted to his keeping and that he gave it to the world.

V. SUMMARY OF THE CHIEF EVENTS RECORDED IN
HELLENICA, BOOKS I AND II.

B.C.

411. In September the Athenian fleet is defeated by the Spartans under Agesandridas ; in the following month an indecisive battle is fought off Rhoeteium, and the Athenians gain a victory at Abydos.

Alcibiades is arrested by Tissaphernes and imprisoned at Sardis.

410. He escapes and joins the Athenian fleet.

Battle of Cyzicus. Great Athenian victory. Restoration of Athenian supremacy in the Bosphorus and Propontis. The Spartans are expelled from Thasos.

Agis makes a sally from **Deceleia** up to the walls of Athens ; he is repulsed.

Agis sends **Clearchus** to Byzantium to intercept the Athenian corn supplies.

Thrasyllus sails to Samos in the spring ; he ravages the territory of Pygela and takes Colophon ; at Ephesus he is defeated with great loss. He defeats the Syracusan squadron, and joins Alcibiades and the Athenian armament.

409. They winter at Lampsacus and defeat Pharnabazus at Abydos. They sail from Lampsacus to Proconnesus and lay siege to Chalcedon.

The Athenians make a convention with Pharnabazus, who undertakes to escort an Athenian embassy to Susa.

During the summer **Byzantium** is besieged by the Athenians and surrenders.

408. Pharnabazus and the Athenian envoys are met by Spartan envoys, who bring back from Susa the news of the appointment of **Cyrus** as satrap with extraordinary powers and authority to help Sparta.

Alcibiades sails to Samos in the summer ; Thrasybulus to Chalcidice and Thasos ; and Thrasyllus with the main Athenian fleet to Athens.

Alcibiades is elected general along with Thrasybulus and Conon. He returns to Athens, where he stays about four months. He is appointed Commander-in-chief.

407. He sails to Andros, then to Samos, which he makes his naval base ; he winters there.

Lysander, who has been appointed Spartan admiral in the previous year, assembles a large fleet at Ephesus. He negotiates with Cyrus, who displays great liberality towards Sparta.

In the spring Alcibiades visits Thrasybulus who is at Phocaea ; during his absence the Athenian fleet is defeated by Lysander at **Notium**. In May Alcibiades is superseded, or rather, perhaps, fails to secure re-election as general ; he retires in disgrace to his private fortress in the Chersonese.

Conon takes command of the Athenian fleet at Samos ; he makes descents upon the mainland.

406. **Callicratidas** succeeds Lysander, whose time as admiral has expired. Failing to obtain supplies from Cyrus, he applies to the Milesians, who provide him with money. He captures Methymna in Lesbos and blockades the Athenian fleet in the harbour of Mytilene.

Conon sends to Athens for reinforcements. A new fleet is equipped at Athens ; it sails to the islets of Arginusae near Lesbos.

Battle of Arginusae. The Athenian fleet is victorious ; it sails to Mytilene, then to Samos.

The Athenian generals who had fought at Arginusae, with the exception of Conon, are deprived of their office.

Trial and condemnation of the Generals (in November).

that of Breitenbach, approved by Holm. Somewhere in Book I Xenophon, or perhaps a copyist, has omitted to record the beginning of a new year; Breitenbach supposes this omission to be in I. v. 11. A different arrangement of the chronology is favoured by Beloch, who places many events a year later than Breitenbach.

(4) The order of the events marked with the * in the above table is doubtful. On this question, and also on the chronology of the years 404 and 403 B.C. generally, see note on II. iv. 2.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ.

A.

I.

Defeat of the Athenian fleet by Agesandridas. Battles at Rhoeteium and Abydos.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐθις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου 2 εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσίν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὥς ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν 3 Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ 4

κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις
5 ἀπέπλει, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδον
κατὰ τὴν ἡῶνα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν
νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπείσπλει
6 δυοῖν δεοῦσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν
Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδον· καὶ ὁ
Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπείσβαλιν τῷ ἵππῳ
εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο.
7 συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ
παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες
κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν.
8 ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλη ὥχοντο
ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θρά-
συλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπλευσε
ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.

*Alcibiades is arrested by Tissaphernes. He escapes and
joins the Athenian fleet.*

9 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλησπόντον·
ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην
ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι,
10 φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις
δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ
Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρία ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες
11 νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς. οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ
Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλ-

λοντα ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἐκέισε ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνά- 12 γεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφότεροι ἡργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις 13 διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόννησον.

Battle of Cyzicus.

ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶη καὶ 14 Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὠρμίσαντο, 15 τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν 16 παρασκευασάμενος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῶ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς

- Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
- 17 ἐξήκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῶ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συννομήσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις.
- 18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ
- 19 ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκ-
- 20 λιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μέινας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον. ἐκεῖθεν
- 21 δ' ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον· Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν.
- 22 ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῶ δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὐμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ'
- 23 ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὥχοντο. παρὰ δὲ Ἴπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακε-

δαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε· Ἐρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπείσυνά. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνά- 24 βαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων, ὥς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας 25 τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδης κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ 26 Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδὼνα ἐβόηθει.

Banishment of Hermocrates and his colleagues.

ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων 27 στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὥς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνευσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν

κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν
 ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
 ὑπάρχουσαν· ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν
 28 ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες
 ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι
 καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν
 δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις
 ἐπικαλοῖη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι.
 29 οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένον, δεομένων ἔμειναν, ἕως
 ἀφίκοντο οἱ αὐτ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ'
 Ἐπιδόκου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις
 Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι
 κατάξιν αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται,
 ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλυντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες·
 30 ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα
 ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινό-
 τητα. ὧν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους καὶ
 τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης
 ἡμέρας πρὶν καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν
 σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεξυνοῦτο ὅ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ
 πράττειν, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν
 31 ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρήμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων
 Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἠνδόξει, λέγειν
 τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ
 Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦν-
 τος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος
 παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβών,
 παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας καθόδον ξένους
 τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν
 Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ
 τὸ στράτευμα.

The Spartans are expelled from Thasos. Agis is repulsed in Attica. He sends Clearchus to Byzantium.

ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως γενο- 32
μένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμο-
στῆς Ἐτεόνικος. καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν
Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης·
ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμ-
μάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν
Χίῳ. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν 33
Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἀγίς ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιού-
μενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θρά-
συλλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον
γυμνάσιον, ὥς μαχοῦμενος, ἂν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ 34
ταῦτα Ἀγίς ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι
τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν
Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι
ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν
καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ
πεντήκοντα. Ἀγίς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα 35
πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος
ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους
εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ
θάλατταν σίτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον
τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς
Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, 36
πληρωθεῖσῶν νεῶν ἕκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτῖδων μᾶλλον ἢ τα-
χειῶν ὥχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται

ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ αἰὲν ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν.

Events in Sicily.

- 37 καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἰροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινούντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.

II.

Thrasyllus sails to Samos. He ravages Pygela and takes Colophon.

- Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐννεηκοστή, ἣ προστεθείσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτῆμονος,] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος ἐξέ-
 2 πλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μέINAS τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελαν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τήν τε χώραν ἐδήου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεύσι δι-
 3 σπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ

Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς δια-
κοσίας, καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ 4
ἔπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι
ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφῶνιοι δὲ προσεχώ-
ρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν
Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς
ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ
ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα 5
τὰ χωρία ὧν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων
τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ζῶν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε.

At Ephesus Thrasyllus is defeated with great loss.

Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν 6
τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἑφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τισσα-
φέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε
συνέλεγε πολλήν καὶ ἱππέας ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων
πᾶσιν εἰς Ἑφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θράσυλλος 7
δὲ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς
Ἑφεσον ἔπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν
Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστὰς
καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος
ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο
στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν Ἐφέσιοι 8
οἳ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι
οἳ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτέρων
πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι
μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἰππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ
Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο. οὗτοι 9
δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν

Κορησῶ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥσεί ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλυντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησῶ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεία ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ αἰεὶ. Σελινουσίοις δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν.

Thrasyllus defeats the Syracusan squadron, and joins Alcibiades and the Athenian armament at Sestos. Their combined forces defeat Pharnabazus at Abydos.

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαμβάνοντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. ὁρμούντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεύσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς Ἐφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θράσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστόν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπανα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπῆγει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ὥχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ

συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρό-
 τεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου
 συντάττεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι
 δὲ ἡττημένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες
 Λάμψακον τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδον· 16
 Φαρνάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχη
 ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τοὺς
 τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε
 Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης 17
 ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ
 ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον δέ τινας
 καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον καὶ
 ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.

Contemporary events.

τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ 18
 Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑπο-
 σπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν
 Ἑρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντι-
 τεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας,
 προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους
 σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβώτῃ. καὶ ὁ 19
 ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου
 τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρη-
 σαν αὐτῷ.

III.

The Athenians besiege Chalcedon.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
 ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν
 ἔληγε, [Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ'
 Ἀντιγένους,] ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, [δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτων
 τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων,] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν
 2 εἰς Προκόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ'
 ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατο-
 πεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσ-
 ἰόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἄπασαν
 κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θράκας ἀστυγείτονας
 3 ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους
 καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας,
 ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆτει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων
 χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ
 4 ἀπέδωκαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
 τὴν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε
 τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης
 εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ
 5 τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος
 ἀρμοστής ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς
 μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ,
 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει
 6 στρατιᾷ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἴπποκράτης μὲν οὖν
 καὶ Θράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον
 πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινες καὶ
 τοὺς ἰππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν,
 οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

The Athenians make a convention with Pharnabazus, who undertakes to escort an Athenian embassy to Susa.

ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμείξαι 7
 πρὸς τὸν Ἱπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 καὶ τῶν ἀποτευχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς
 τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ὥχετο 8
 εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα
 πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς
 Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνης εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι
 Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις
 Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὅρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον 9
 παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχηδονίους
 Ἀθηναίοις ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρή-
 ματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχη-
 δονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν.
 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ 10
 περὶ Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἐλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον
 ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερροννησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης
 στρατιώτας καὶ ἱππέας πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνά- 11
 βαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κάκεῖνον ὀμνύναι, περιέμενεν ἐν
 Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὀμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὀμείται.
 μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνά- 12
 βαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν
 Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ
 Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε κοινὸν ὅρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστει
 ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῆει, καὶ 13
 τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν

ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλεχος· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασσιπίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἥδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος.

Siege and surrender of Byzantium.

- 14 καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ
15 τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν
δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής
καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιόικων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν
οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἑλιξος
Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας.
16 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ'
ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν
17 πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστής οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν
τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὥς ἐδύνατο
κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ
Ἑλίξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν,
μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ
ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι
ἄλλη καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασσιπίδου καὶ
ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ἅς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης,
ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγη-
θείησαν, ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμ-
μάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ
18 στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν
ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων

Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκούργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος, ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον ἐν 19 Λακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτι οὐ προδοίῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι, παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σῖτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἔνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, 20 νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἑλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων 21 εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι ποιήσαιεν, παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν 22 ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρὰς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

IV.

Pharnabazus and the Athenian envoys are met by Spartan envoys who bring from Susa the news of the appointment of Cyrus. The Athenian embassy is detained.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδίῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευο- 2 μένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἳ τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος ὄνομα καὶ οἱ

μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι πάντων ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ
 3 βασιλέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
 καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε
 τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν
 ἧ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς
 4 Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.
 ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ
 5 βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος
 δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις
 ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς
 6 Ἀθηναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος
 δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν
 ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπο-
 7 πέμψειν, ὥς μὴδὲν μέμψηται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς
 ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς, φάσκων
 ὁμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ
 βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι
 αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας,
 ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

*Operations of Thrasybulus. Thrasyllus goes to Athens with
 the main Athenian fleet. Alcibiades is elected general.*

8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμον· ἐκεῖθεν
 δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν
 Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα
 9 ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα
 ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὥχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία

τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσιν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ 10 στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἦκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγούς εἶλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν.

Alcibiades returns to Athens. Varied feelings towards him.

Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα 11 κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἵκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἵς ἐπυνθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν οὖσαν καὶ 12 στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ᾔψασθαι. καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὁ ἐκ 13 τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἴη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος ἀπελογήθη ὡς οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ· ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παρα- 14 χρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγεννημένης ὡς ἡσεβηκότος εἰς

- τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα
 δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος·
 15 ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν
 θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων αἰεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην
 ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε
 καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτά-
 νουσιν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίῃ φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος·
 16 οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴων περ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καίνων
 δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ
 ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν
 τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἷοις περ πρότερον,
 ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους,
 αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγα-
 πᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίοισιν οὐκ
 17 εἶχον χρῆσθαι· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς
 κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ
 πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσαι ἡγεμῶν καταστῆναι.

*Alcibiades at Athens. He is appointed commander-in-chief.
 His departure.*

- 18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε
 μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς
 δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτη-
 19 δείους, εἰ παρείησαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν
 Πεισιάνακτος, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς
 ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων,
 20 εἴ τις ἄπτοίτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὥς οὐκ ἡσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ

ὥς ἡδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς οἶός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο 21 στρατιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἵππείας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἀνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε 22 τὸ στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρειον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οὐκ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τρο- 23 παῖόν τε ἔστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κακῆϊθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

V.

Lysander is appointed Spartan admiral. Promises of Cyrus.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκείθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον

ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἑφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς
 ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος
 2 πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους
 ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκὼς εἶη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὥς
 3 προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. Κῦρος δὲ
 τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ
 ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων δὲ ἦκειν
 τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπη, τοῖς ἰδίοις
 χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ
 ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο,
 4 ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπῆνουν
 καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν,
 διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείω
 5 χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν,
 οὐ δυνατὸν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ
 ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας,
 τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὅπόσας
 6 ἂν βούλωνται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος
 τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ
 προπιῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν,
 εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν
 7 προσθείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός,
 πρότερον δὲ τριῷβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προοφειλόμενον
 ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα
 8 πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες
 ταῦτα ἀθύρως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον
 9 πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο,
 δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει
 πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων

μηδὲ οἵτινες ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ 10 αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς.

During the absence of Alcibiades the Athenians are defeated.

Ἄλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησ- 11 πόντου ἦκοντα τειχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ 12 Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτάς τὰς πρῶρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ 13 δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἤνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν 14 ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐξωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαῖον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης 15 ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ

ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Τέων.

Alcibiades is superseded. Operations of Conon.

- 16 οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἡγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλέκεναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς εἶλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον,
- 17 Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
- 18 τεῖχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδρου σὺν αἰς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρου
- 19 ἔπεμψαν Φανοσθένην, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες
- 20 ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλεόν ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλίζετο.

Events in Sicily.

καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν 21
στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς
στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ,
μάχη μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἐπτά μῆνας.

VI.

Callicratidas succeeds Lysander.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἢ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας
καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη,
[Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθή-
νησιν,] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος
ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν
ἐτῶν] ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ 2
παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλι-
κρατίδᾳ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ
νενικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν
ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὐ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς,
καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ 3
Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ
Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ
προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ
τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ πάσας
ἀθροίσας, οὕσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, παρεσκευά-
ζετο ὥς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. καταμαθὼν δ' 4
ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον

ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικά καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γιγνωσκόντων, ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν
 5 αὐτοῖς τοιάδε· Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικά βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἣ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐρούντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

Callicratidas appeals to the Milesians.

6 οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἴκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κῦρον ἦται μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας
 7 ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἔνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῇ οἴκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ
 8 Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· κακείθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ μὲν,

ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι·
 ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον
 διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλεῖστα κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις 9
 συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἤκωσιν, οὓς
 ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρ- 10
 χοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὥς περιττὰ ὄντα
 οἷχεται· Κῦρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἰὲ ἀνεβάλ-
 λετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας
 φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισχνούμαι δ' 11
 ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
 ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν.
 ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξομεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ
 ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 τιμωρεῖσθαι.

*Callicratidas captures Methymna and blockades the
 Athenian fleet at Mytilene.*

ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα 12
 οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον
 χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ
 ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστῳ
 τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ
 Μήθυμναν πολεμίαν οὔσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν 13
 Μηθυμναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθη-
 ναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττικίζόντων,
 προσβαλὼν αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν 14
 οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ
 ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς

τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελεύοντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι
καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος
οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατὸν ἀνδραποδι-
15 σθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφήκε,
τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ
δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο. Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει
αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν
ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν
16 εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε φύγοι. Κόνων δ'
ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν
πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ
σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἑρασινίδης.
Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα,
17 διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς
ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθεῖς, ἠναγκάσθη
ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριά-
κοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ
λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει
18 ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισά-
μενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔχων. καὶ
κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεῖ
καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε
παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.

*Conon sends to Athens for help. A new Athenian fleet is
equipped and sails to Arginusae.*

19 ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ
δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύν-
σας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ
ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας
ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλῃν ναῦν μεταβιβάσας
καὶ τὰ παραρρύματα παραβαλὼν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν 20
οὕτως ἀνεῖχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη,
ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὥς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις
ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα
μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες
ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω
τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ
δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ' ἐφορμούντων ὥς ἕκαστοι 21
ἦνοιγον τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι,
ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιού-
μενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος
ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον,
καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ, ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησ- 22
πόντου φυγοῦσα ναὺς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς
Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ
βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὠρμίσατο
εἰς τὸν εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλι- 23
κρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν
ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. οἱ 24
δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ
ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα,
εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ
δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα
καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς 25
Σάμον, καέκειθεν Σαμίας ναὺς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν

δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως
 δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὔσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ
 26 αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ
 Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ
 οὔσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ
 ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἀναχθεὶς
 ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ ἀντίον
 27 τῆς Μυτιλήνης. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνοποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις. αὗται
 28 δ' εἰσὶν ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ
 πυρά, καὶ τινων αὐτῷ ἐξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 εἶεν, ἀνῆγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπιναίως προσ-
 πέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ
 διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχευ, ἅμα τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.

Battle of Arginusae.

29 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ
 εὐώνυμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ
 εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ
 Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδωντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης·
 παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾷς
 τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι
 Ἴππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὗται
 ἐπὶ μιᾷς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ
 30 εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας
 Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν
 Θράσυλλος ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτο-

μάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δ' Ἀριστογένης. οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν 31 διδοῖεν· χειρὸν γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾷ ὥς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμένοι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας. Ἑρμῶν δὲ 32 Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ 33 ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκευασμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὸς ἀποπесῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλουντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες 34 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ 35 τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ὑπλίζοντο. τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ 36

ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὐθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἅπασαι.
 37 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον (ἦν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὔριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις
 38 τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἳ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμον.

VII.

The Athenian generals, except Conon, are deprived of their office. Accusations against them. Their defence.

Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς

Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἔξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ 2
 Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρα-
 σύλλου καὶ Ἑρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε
 προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος
 Ἑρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ,
 φάσκων ἔξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα
 τοῦ δήμου· κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ
 ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἑρασινίδην. μετὰ δὲ 3
 ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τε τῆς
 ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους
 δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν
 δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλὴ ἔδῃσε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 4
 ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγοροῦν
 ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον
 ὑποσχεῖν διότι οὐκ ἀνείλυντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν
 γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε
 μαρτύριον ἣν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν
 καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χει-
 μῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος 5
 ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προυτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν
 νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν
 ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς
 καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ
 καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς 6
 ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ
 τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν
 ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους
 εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν
 τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς 7
 κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλούς.

τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· ἐβούλουντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν (τότε γὰρ ὁψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων). τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλευσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες
 8 κρίνουντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦκοιεν, ὥς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλιξείνου ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν.

Controversy with regard to the trial of the generals.

9 ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξείνου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν
 10 ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ
 11 μὴ, εἰς τὴν ὑστέρα· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἑνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. παρήλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχεους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, εἰ σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλουντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.

τὸν δὲ Καλλίξεινον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φά- 12
σκοντες συγγεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος
καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆνουν, τὸ
δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον
πράττειν ὃ ἂν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος 13
Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἰ μὴ ἀφώσι τὴν κλῆσιν,
ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι
τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τινων οὐ φασκόντων 14
προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὐθις
Καλλίξεινος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ
ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις 15
φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγησαν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκρά-
τους τοῦ Σωφρονίσ' ἄν. οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ
νόμον πάντα ποιῆσαι. Ο.

Speech of Euryptolemus.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ 16
τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε. Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσω, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι
ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ'
ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσω ἃ μοι δοκεῖ
ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν 17
αὐτῶν ὅτι μετέπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας βουλομένους
πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν
τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ
τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλυντο.
εἶτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδίᾳ ἀμαρ- 18
τόντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ'
ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύ-
ουσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὐκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ 130

δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα ἀληθῆ
 πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτούς. συμβουλευώ δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθ'
 ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς
 ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἂν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ
 ἅμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ
 μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογή-
 σασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.
 20 ἴστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Κανωνοῦ
 ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, εἴαν τις τὸν τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ
 δήμῳ, καὶ εἴαν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ
 βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι
 21 καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ
 ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ νῆ
 Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ
 προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοι ἐστίν ἐκείνον περὶ
 22 πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ
 βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, εἴαν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν
 προδιδῶ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν
 καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα
 23 αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ
 ἓνα ἕκαστον διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς
 μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, εἴαν
 τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν εἴαν τε μὴ, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατη-
 24 γορήσαι, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ ἀπολογήσασθαι. τούτων δὲ
 γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης
 τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ

Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ 25
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες κρινεῖτε
 καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἐκείνους
 ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελόμενους καὶ νενικηκότας, τούτους
 ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ 26
 δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὄν
 ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ
 τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον,
 ὥσπερ Καλλίξιενος τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον
 εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ; ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ 27
 αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε· μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὕστερον
 ἀναμνησθῆτε ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς
 δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότας. δεινὰ 28
 δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον
 καταλύοντι, εἶτα δ' Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολε-
 μίοις οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο
 καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προύθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς
 τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας
 δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε.
 μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῶν ὄντες τοὺς 29
 νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες,
 ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειρᾶσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι
 δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατή-
 σαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων
 μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι
 τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ
 τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν
 ἅπαντας· Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν
 τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
 πλέωσι· καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς 30

ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, αὗται ἅπασαι γίνονται ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἑκάσ-
 31 την ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυιῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων τριηράρχων ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγορεῖ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τοῦτο ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλυντο
 32 κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεκελεύσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεὼς διασωθεὶς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἥπερ
 33 τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. μὴ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας, οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πράξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.

Condemnation of the generals.

34 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα

ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειρονομίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε 35 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξεινον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι· Καλλίξεινος δὲ κατελθὼν, ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ.

B.

I.

Events in Chios.

Οί δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες, ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὥς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὅποσοι εἶσαν.

2 πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρήσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας διαβολὴν σχοίεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ

3 πράγματα ὦσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας

πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινὶ ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατροῦ, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ 4 γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτῶντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, αἰὲ ὁ ἀκούων δεδιῶς μὴ ὀφθείῃ ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος συγκαλέ- 5 σας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβῳσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσῆνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιὼν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρῆνει πολλά, ὥς τοῦ γεγεννημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ 6 Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγόντες εἰς Ἑφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν.

Lysander and Cyrus.

καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ 7 παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἀρακόν· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων]. τούτῳ 8 δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς, ὅτι αὐτῷ

ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ
 ποιούσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ
 χειρίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναίτο ποιῆσαι.
 9 Ἱεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρεαῖον
 δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὃ δὲ
 αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὥς ἄρρωστών, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.
 10 τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρ-
 χοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος
 εἰς Ἑφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἑτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς
 ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ ποὺ τις
 ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ
 11 ἐναυπηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ᾗτει· ὃ
 δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα
 εἶη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν
 12 ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος
 τὰργύριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ
 τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρε-
 σκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς
 13 τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ. Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετε-
 πέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν
 ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἄρρωστών ἐκείνον καλοίη, ὣν ἐν
 Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς
 14 ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας. ἥκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ
 εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλείους
 ναῦς ἔχη· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ
 ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε
 δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ
 αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ
 ἀναμνήσας ὥς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ
 τὸν πατέρα.

Operations of Lysander. He refuses to give battle to the Athenian fleet.

Λύσανδρος δ' ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδοὺς 15
 τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἄρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος
 ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς
 Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν
 πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρεΐαις τῇ
 ὑστεραίᾳ κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν
 δὲ μιξοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν
 εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι 16
 τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν
 Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν,
 καὶ στρατηγούς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν προσείλοντο
 Μένανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ 17
 τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσ-
 ποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἑκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ
 τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνέγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία 18
 αὐτοῖς ἦν. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς
 Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυ-
 δηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρήσαν πεζῇ· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θώραξ
 Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰροῦσι 19
 κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὖσαν
 πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνου καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων
 πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσαν-
 δρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὠρμίσαντο 20
 τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ
 ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλ-
 λεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς
 Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς 21

Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διεῖχε δὲ ὁ
 Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτη σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐν-
 22 ταῦθα δὴ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ
 νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὀρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστο-
 ποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος
 ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλων,
 προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ
 23 ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ
 τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ
 24 ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. Λύ-
 σανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας ὃ τι
 ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρό-
 τερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐταὶ ἦκον. ταῦτα
 δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο.
 25 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθη-
 ναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει,
 τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα
 σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι
 καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς
 ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν παρήνει πρὸς τε
 λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη,
 26 ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς
 καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ
 νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥχετο.

Battle of Aegospotami.

27 Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὰν
 κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ

τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τὰ τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονούντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμ- 28 παρῇει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἀνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ 29 ἔγνω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγελοῦσα τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς 30 αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἥ δ' ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ληστὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας 31 τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αἵ τε ἤδη παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν

χείρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημνίσειαν. Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν.

32 ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτείνειν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἠτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

II.

Lysander occupies Byzantium and Chalcedon.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῃ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας

2 καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινα πον ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θᾶπτον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνης Σθενέλαον ἄρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

The Athenians prepare the city for a siege. General revolt of Athenian allies.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς 3
ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ
τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστὺ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ
παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη,
οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα
ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας,
κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ Ἰστιάδης καὶ Σκιωναίους
καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ 4
ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ
εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὥς
εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι
μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησ- 5
πόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατε-
σκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ·
εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις
ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαι-
μονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς 6
ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν
Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες
κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν.

Pausanias encamps outside Athens and Lysander blockades the Peiraeus. sufferings at Athens.

Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε 7
εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν
διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεῖ

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγεί-
 λαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Πανσανίου.
 8 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς
 9 τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, Λύ-
 σανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν
 Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἁθροίσας,
 ὥς δ' αὕτως καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς
 αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμίνα
 ὥρμισατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
 10 ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἵργε τοῦ εἴσπλου. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι
 πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουν
 τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων
 οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν εἰ μὴ
 παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν
 ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ
 11 αἰτία ἑτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς
 ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀπο-
 θνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο
 περὶ διαλλαγῆς.

Negotiations for a capitulation.

ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν
 πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακε-
 δαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ
 12 τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακε-
 δαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,
 13 ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν
 Σελλασίᾳ πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ
 ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν,
 αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται

εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἤκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις 14
 ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
 ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὥντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι,
 καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ
 λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως 15
 οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν
 ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο
 δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν
 ἑκατέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων
 συμβουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν 16
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσαν-
 δρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδί-
 σασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν
 τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ
 Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλέον, ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον
 ἅπαντα ὃ τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ 17
 μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος
 τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἵεναι·
 οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
 ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευτῆς εἰς Λακεδαί-
 μονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς 18
 ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων
 Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο
 Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου.

Terms of peace.

Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν 19
 Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἦκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι
 αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν

ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν
 ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις,
 20 ἄλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν
 Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν
 τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἄλλ'
 ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν
 Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παρα-
 δόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν
 καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ
 21 γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται. Θηραμένης
 δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς
 Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολὺς,
 φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει
 22 μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ
 δὲ ὑστεραία ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν
 Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις
 καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ,
 πολὺ δὲ πλείονων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν
 23 εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν
 Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέ-
 σκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

Events in Sicily.

24 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ
 Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχῃ μὲν πρό-
 τερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει
 δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιω-
 τῶν τὴν πόλιν.

III.

Establishment of the Thirty.

Τῷ δ' ἐπίοντι ἔτει [ὧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἥ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ² ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε.] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατέρας νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ἡρέθησαν οἷδε· Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θεόγνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μνησιθεΐδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος ³ πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγρις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

Events in Thessaly and Sicily.

κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν ⁴ Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ⁵ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίοις συννοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν

αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παρα-
χρήμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου
εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.

Surrender of Samos. Lysander returns to Sparta in triumph.

- 6 οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντη,
ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν
προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν
ἐν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ
7 δ' ἄλλα παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος
δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδούς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ
ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν
8 ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς
δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα,
ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ
τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους,
οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου
τετρακόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγέγοντο
τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
9 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὲ
πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους
[εἰς ὃ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ
ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο,
Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ
δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων
10 σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἷδε· Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ,
Σωστρατίδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας,
'Ονομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινό-
μαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, Κλεο-
σθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδας,

Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἐνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἵκαδε κατέπλευσεν].

Proceedings of the Thirty.

οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ 11
μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη·
αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράφαι νόμους, καθ' οὔστινας
πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν
τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς
κατέστησαν ὥς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς 12
πάντες ἦδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας
ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλ-
λαμβάνοντες ὑπὲρ θανάτου· καὶ ἥ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως
αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἷ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς
μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο 13
βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι
ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς
Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν
Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ
τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο
τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ 14
πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστήν
συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ,
ὥς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττειεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου
συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον
οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη
οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι,
ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς
συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.

Dissension between Critias and Theramenes. Nomination of the Three Thousand.

- 15 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ
- 16 εἴπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἔχρητο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶει ἢ ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς
- 17 ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἢ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν
- 18 ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἔκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἥδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυνείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγ-
- 19 μάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὗτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὗτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ

ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζόμενους.

Reign of terror. Conspiracy against Theramenes.

ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν 20
μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου
ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ
ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ
τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων
πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρέιλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες
ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων 21
δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ τι βούλονται,
πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ
χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρου-
ροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον
λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα
αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην 22
λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ
δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους
εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἶων, ἡμεῖς δὲ
ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικούντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβά-
νωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ 23
δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι
βούλονται, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς
βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινό-
μενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις
οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης
ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλὴν.

Speech of Critias against Theramenes.

- 24 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας
 ἔλεξεν ὧδε· ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν
 νομίζει πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι
 ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται πάντα χροῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται·
 πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς
 ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην
 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον
 25 χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ
 γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολι-
 τείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις
 τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος
 γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ
 ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολι-
 26 τείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ εἰάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον
 τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ
 δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν δίδόναι.
 27 νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτουὶ οἷς δύναται
 ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν
 κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον
 Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον,
 ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημα-
 γωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε,
 πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως
 28 ἐνομιζέτο· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακε-
 δαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου
 καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις
 ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ
 ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα,

οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ
ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν
πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει 29
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν
δίκην. καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέ-
μου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάσασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ
φανερῷ, τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι
καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν
προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε
οὔδεις οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ 30
καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν,
ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα
"Αγνωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-
στῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον,
πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο. ὅθεν
δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος 31
ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀπολέπει δὲ
ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον
ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς
συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον
καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ,
εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς τὰναντία πλέοιεν;
καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατη- 32
φόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν
μεταίτιος εἶ' ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι,
πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος
δέ τοί ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατη-
γῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου

- ναυμαχία αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη.
- 33 ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότες αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τὰδ'
- 34 ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκείνη ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἶεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, εἰάν σωφρονήτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὥς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμει ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

Reply of Theramenes.

- 35 ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δήπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει

εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέ-
 μενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. οὐ 36
 μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρακηκοέναι· ὅτε
 γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θερταλία
 μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς
 πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὧν μὲν οὖν 37
 οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι
 ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βού-
 λεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς
 ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγ-
 χάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἶομαι ἂν
 ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν
 πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι 38
 μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς
 ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας
 ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτ' ἐγινώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε
 οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε καὶ αγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν,
 ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐγὼ ἡρξάμην τὰναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν.
 ἤδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλα- 39
 μινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι,
 ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἓν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται,
 φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται·
 ἐγινώσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ
 Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν
 οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι
 δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος 40
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις
 εὖ πλεούσας παρέιχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι
 τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν.
 ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν

- ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολο-
 μένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 41 ἔσονται. ἀντίειπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους
 παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν
 ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τούτου
 ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενό-
 μενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς,
 εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι
 42 χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς
 μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν
 τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ
 ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν
 πολλοὺς ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς,
 πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι
 οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην
 φυγαδεύειν· ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον
 ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ
 προσγενήσονται, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι
 43 πολλοὶ φανήσονται. ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ
 φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομί-
 ζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧς Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς
 ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδίσκοντες
 κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ
 πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ
 τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ
 πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντές καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ
 μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν.
 44 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέ-
 ψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἢ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε
 βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἢ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν

γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα
 μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς
 ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν
 ποι τῆς χώρας. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε 45
 μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
 ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ
 δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν.
 ἔπει δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνέσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ 46
 Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατη-
 γοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχί-
 ζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ'
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ'
 αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότῃν εἶναι
 τῶν φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις 47
 πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει,
 τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ
 γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος
 ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστό-
 τατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ 48
 ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν
 δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν
 δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ
 τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οἷ οὐκ οἶονται καλὴν ἂν
 ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραν-
 νεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς
 δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν
 διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην
 εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ 49
 Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννι-
 κοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστρεφῖν πολιτείας

ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· εἰ γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

Condemnation and death of Theramenes.

- 50 ὥς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλῃ ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθоруβήσασα, γνούς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι, εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς
- 51 τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὁρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὗ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον,
- 52 ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν
- 53 εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ

τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι.
 ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ καγαθοί, θαυμάζω,
 εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες
 ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν
 ἐκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα 54
 κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
 εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν
 Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε
 μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη
 τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ
 λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἑνδεκα οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ
 τούτων πράττετε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ 55
 τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ
 Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ
 ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλή ἡσυ-
 χίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους
 Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλήρες
 τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες
 παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς 56
 μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται
 δὲ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι
 οἰμῶξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ,
 οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν
 ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπие, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν
 ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ
 καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγ-
 ματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκείνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν,
 τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε
 τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

IV.

The exiles. Thrasybulus occupies Phyle and defeats the Thirty. The Thirty seize Eleusis. Execution of the Eleusinians.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὥς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἡγόν δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς
 2 Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὥς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθύς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες
 3 ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ
 4 Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
 5 ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἡδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἐπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα

ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν
εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο 6
ὅποιοι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι
ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλα-
βόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέ-
πιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ
τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ
ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ
ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς.
ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στησάμενοι καὶ 7
συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλ-
θον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες
τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δ' ἕως
τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλonton οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς
ἄστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες 8
ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα
ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε.
καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα
Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε
ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βού-
λεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται,
ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον
αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ
τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν,
τὸν δ' ἐξίοντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες
συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον
ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα. τῇ δ' 9
ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ
καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς
δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἡττον

ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἑλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτά ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε
 10 φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρσστά καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Thrasybulus marches to the Peiraeus and occupies Munychia.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν
 11 εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγ-
 12 μένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγέ-
 νοντο.

Thrasybulus addresses his troops.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς
 μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς
 θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς
 ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ 13
 ἀναμνησθαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων
 οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην
 τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι,
 οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρου
 οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαντον καὶ τοὺς φιλά-
 τους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο· ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι
 παραγεγέννηται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ
 αἰὲν ἠνυχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς 14
 καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες
 συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες,
 οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες
 ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι· καὶ
 γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ,
 καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις
 οὖσι τροπαῖα ἴστασθαι διδόασιν· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσκασιν 15
 ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε
 ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον
 ἵεναι δύναιντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα
 ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν
 καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρῶσομεν. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν 16
 τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ,
 ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιῆτε τὰ βέλη,
 ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττό-
 μενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε
 ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλόμεθα

17 καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπιδώσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Victory of Thrasybulus.

18 ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν ἂν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείῃ· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις,

19 ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαιπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἳ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδουσιν, προσιώντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.

Speech of Cleocritus.

Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὐφωνος 20
 ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· "Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς
 ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς
 κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχέκαμεν δὲ
 ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν
 τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενή-
 μεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύ-
 καμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς
 ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. πρὸς θεῶν 21
 πατρῶν καὶ μητρῶν καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ
 ἑταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλή-
 λοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε
 ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς
 ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου
 δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνὶ ἢ
 πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δ' 22
 ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν
 τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ
 θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν
 νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Nomination of the Ten. The Thirty retire to Eleusis.

Increasing strength of Thrasybulus.

ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ
 τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς
 τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάννυ δὴ 23
 ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν

δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ
 διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν
 τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεῖη
 καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν
 ἡδικηκέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ
 τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ'
 ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
 ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέ-
 24 σθαι. καὶ εἶλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν
 τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν
 ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλή-
 λους σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ
 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀριδεῖω, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
 ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν
 ἀφ' ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχην, τὸ δὲ
 πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισ-
 25 πέσοιέν τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ
 πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο,
 οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο.
 πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες
 συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι,
 ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνήτες· ἐγέ-
 νοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσεί ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς
 δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκά-
 26 θευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος
 μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ
 ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα
 αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰζωνέων
 τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγρούς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευο-
 μένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε,

πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων
 ἱππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ τῶν 27
 ἱππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς
 Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ
 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ
 τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς
 ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν
 τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα
 ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος
 βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς
 ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.

*Lysander is appointed Harmost. Pausanias leads an
 expedition to Athens.*

πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν 28
 τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ
 ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ
 δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι
 οἶόν τε εἶη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ
 κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
 ἀποκλεισθεῖσαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς
 δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἄρμοστήν, Λίβυν
 δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐξελθὼν 29
 αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσίνάδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς
 Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύ-
 λαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων·
 ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δ'
 ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ.
 οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Πausanίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας
 Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμή-
 σοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν

30 ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιούντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ ἐνώνυμον.

Victory of Pausanias over Thrasybulus.

- 31 πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausanίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὦν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ
- 32 εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἄχθесθεῖς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλᾶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς
- 33 τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψилоὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξενον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολε-

μάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμ-
 μένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.
 ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, 34
 ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν Ἀλῶν ἐπ’
 ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας
 ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγ-
 γελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις
 ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς
 βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ’
 εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν
 εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ
 ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

Peace negotiations.

ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας τροπαῖον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· 35
 καὶ οὐδ’ ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων
 ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις
 πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ
 δ’ ἐπείθοντο, δίσστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ
 ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγο-
 μένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ
 πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροι Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις φίλοι εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας 36
 ἔφορος ὧν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ
 δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός
 τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφοτέροι τῆς μετὰ Πανσανίου γνώμης
 ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν
 καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ’ ἐκ
 τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς
 καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἰδιώτας, καὶ Κηφισοφῶντά

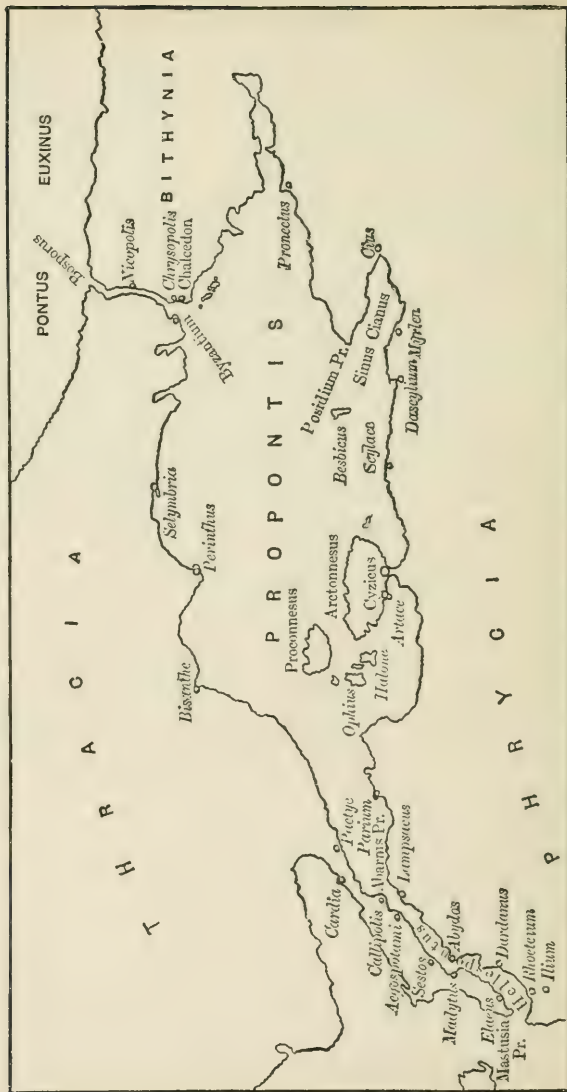
- 37 τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ὥχοντο εἰς Λακεδαί-
 μονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως
 λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ
 ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὃ τι
 βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ
 φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τόν τε
 38 Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων
 αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντε-
 καίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὶν
 Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ
 διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὥς πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
 ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα
 καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα.
 εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
 39 Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Pau-
 σανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
 ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν
 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.

Speech of Thrasybulus. Restoration of the democracy.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύ-
 40 βουλος ἔλεξεν· Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες,
 συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν
 γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον
 ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιο-
 τεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν
 οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκηκεν· ὑμεῖς
 δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ
 ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιθήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν
 ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα

φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο 41
ἢ ὥς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ'
ἂν προέχειν, οὐ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα
καὶ συμμαχούς Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων
ἐχόντων περιείληφθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἶεσθε
μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἷ γε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας
κύνας κλοιῷ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κακῆνοι ὑμᾶς
παραδόντες τῷ ἡδίκημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες;
οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῷ ἐγὼ ὦν ὁμωμόκατε 42
παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν
δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταραττε-
σθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι 43
ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους
μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσίνοι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους
ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς
φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ
ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

Map to illustrate the naval operations in the Propontis, etc.



NOTES.

BOOK I.

I.

1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, i.e. after the events narrated in the concluding chapters of the Eighth Book of Thucydides which seem to have been lost; see Introduction, p. xliii.

ἦλθεν, arrived in the Hellespont to join the Athenian fleet at Sestos. Θυμοχάρης—'Αγησανδρίδου. These two commanders had previously encountered one another at the battle of Eretria. Agesandridas was victorious, and Euboea was lost to Athens. If Diodorus (xiii. 41) is to be trusted, the fleet of Agesandridas on its way to the Hellespont was destroyed by a storm off Mount Athos. Agesandridas must have escaped with some of his ships.

αὖθις, i.e. in a second battle; Cynossema being the first. See Introduction, p. xlii.

2. μετ' ὀλίγον—τούτων, 'a little while after this.' Keller and other editors needlessly bracket τούτων, which can easily be explained as a genitive of comparison; cf. Herod. vi. 46 δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων and Josephus *Antiq.* i. 22 οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ υἱοῦ.

Δωριεύς, commander of the ten ships sent from Thurii to help the Spartans (Thuc. viii. 35).

ἐκ Ῥόδου. Dorieus was a native of Rhodes, whence he was banished and escaped to Thurii. He had lately been sent to his native island by Mindarus the Spartan admiral in order to stop a philo-Athenian rising there. We are told more about him in v. 19.

ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος, i.e. at the beginning of October 411 B.C.

τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, elected by the Fleet at Samos and including Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus (Thuc. viii. 75). See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο—'Ροίτειον, 'And they put out to sea against him

with 20 ships, from which Dorieus escaped and, as he got clear (i.e. from his pursuers), ran his own triremes ashore near Rhoeteium.'

ἦνοιγε. Supply τὴν ὁδὸν or τὸν πλοῦν,—'made his course open,' 'got clear'; cf. v. 13 ἀνήχθησαν ὡς ἕκαστος ἦνοιξεν and vi. 21 τῶν δὲ ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἕκαστοι ἦνοιγον. This word is said to have a similar meaning in Modern Greek. For the omission of the accusative in nautical language cf. Livy xxi. 49 *ad insulam Volcani tenuerunt* (sc. *cursum*). Keller adopts the quite unnecessary emendation ἦνυτε.

4. Μίνδαρος. Diodorus tells us that he had come from Abydos with his whole fleet of 84 sail in order to relieve Dorieus.

ἐν Ἰλίῳ—τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. Cf. Herod. vii. 43, where we are told that Xerxes sacrificed τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι, and Arrian i. 11, where Alexander does the same.

5. κατὰ τὴν ἥονα, 'along the shore,' a very frequent use of κατὰ in Homer, e.g. κατὰ γαίαν, κατὰ πόντον, κατὰ στρατόν. Cf. II. i. 3.

ἥονα, a poetical word, not found elsewhere in Prose.

δείλῃς, 'late afternoon,' as generally in Attic writers.

ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ, needlessly bracketed by most editors, following Diodorus, who speaks of one battle only (xiii. 45). Doubtless the operations mentioned in §§ 4, 5 occupied two days, and these words refer to the morning of the second day. For the phrase cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 2 and the adverbial use of τὸ ἑωθινόν in Herodotus; and for the order of the words cf. *Anab.* vii. iv. 18 *eis τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότου*.

τὰ μὲν νικῶντων τὰ δὲ νικωμένων. Cf. Diod. xiii. 46 ἐπὶ πολὺν οὖν χρόνον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις φιλοτιμίας.

Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ, from Samos; cf. Thuc. viii. 108.

δουῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι, Latin *duodeviginti*.

6. Ἀβυδον, the naval base of the Spartans.

Φαρνάβαζος, Persian satrap of Lesser Phrygia and Bithynia. The transference of the Peloponnesian fleet from the satrapy of Tissaphernes to that of Pharnabazus had a very important bearing on the future of the war. Tissaphernes was a wily intriguer whose constant aim was to play off the Athenians and Spartans one against the other. But Pharnabazus was a man of energy and earnestness, who at once set himself to aid Sparta with Persian gold and hearty cooperation. Of his personal bravery we have a striking instance in the quite Homeric picture which follows.

τοῖς ἄλλοις, explained by the words in apposition which follow; cf. III. iii. 11 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους.

7. **συμφράξαντες**, 'having closed up their ships' so as to form a **φράγμα** 'fence.'

ἀς—κομισάμενοι, 'having recovered the vessels which they had themselves lost,' i.e. in the two preceding actions. Cf. Diod. xiii. 47 **τὰ νανάγια συνήγαγον**.

Σηστόν, the naval base of the Athenians.

8. This section exemplifies the two great difficulties under which the Athenian fleet laboured at this time:—

(1) **ἄλλαι ἄλλη ὥχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν**. Instead of following up their victory they were obliged to send out flying squadrons to get money for pay and subsistence by descents on hostile territory or by extortion from Athenian dependencies; so that only forty sail were left in the Hellespont. The Spartans meanwhile were receiving regular subsidies from Pharnabazus. Cf. § 12 **Θηραμένης καὶ Θρασύβουλος—ἀμφότεροι ἡργυρολογηκότες**.

(2) **ὁ Θράσυλλος—εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε—καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων**. Since the revolution of 411 B.C., and even after the overthrow of the Four Hundred, the Athenian City and Fleet have been practically two independent communities; see Introduction, p. xxxviii. The Fleet still has the generals chosen by the **ναυτικὸς ὄχλος** at Samos; and the City elects its ten generals every year as usual. When the Fleet wants reinforcements it has to beg for them as if from a foreign power.

9. **Τισσαφέρνης**, Persian satrap of Lydia and Ionia. He is now in bad odour with the Spartans (see Introduction, p. xlii) and, in order to regain their favour, he proceeds to arrest Alcibiades, who comes to him in all the pride of victory.

ξένια, 'tokens of friendship,' ceremonial presents, chiefly meat and drink; cf. VII. ii. 3 **βοῦν ξένια ἐπεμψαν**.

δῶρα, more substantial gifts; cf. III. i. 12 **ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον αἰετὶ ἦγε δῶρα αὐτῷ**.

10. **Ἀλκιβιάδης—μετὰ Μαντιθέου—ἀπέδρασαν**. For this *constructio ad sensum* cf. Thuc. iii. 109 **Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατῆγων—σπένδονται**.

ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες. For the genitive cf. vi. 19 **σίτων εὐπορήσαι**.

νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν, for they only had 40 ships (§ 8) against 60 of the enemy.

11. **ἐπακτρίδι**, 'sailing vessel,' for carrying despatches, not a war-ship, properly 'fishing smack'; cf. **ἐπακτήρ** 'fisherman' in Ap. Rhod. i. 625.

Κύζικον, which had revolted from Athens and was subsequently recovered; see Introduction, p. xlii.

ἐκεῖσε, i.e. to Sestos.

12. Θηραμένης, who had recently been assisting the Macedonian king Archelaus in the siege of Pydna (Diod. xiii. 47, 49).

Θρασύβουλος, appointed general by the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος at Samos; see Introduction, p. xxxviii.

13. διώκειν αὐτόν, 'to follow him (i.e. Alcibiades)'; cf. § 11 πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. For διώκειν in this sense cf. Xen. *Hippiarchicus* iv. 5 οἱ τελευταῖοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες.

ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία. Cf. II. i. 29 and VI. ii. 27 Ἴφικράτης τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων. In the latter passage τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία, the sails of the mainmast, are contrasted with τὰ ἀκάτεια the sails of the foremast, lit. 'boat-mast.' Athenian triremes were differently rigged at different periods. At this time 'when *akatian* masts and sails were carried on the three-banked war-ships, the large sails used to be sent ashore whenever the ships were cleared for action. Battles being fought without regard to wind, no ship could ever hoist a sail until she had abandoned all attempts at fighting and was trying to get away; and as the large sail had been sent ashore beforehand, she had to hoist the ἀκάτειον; so that *hoisting the ἀκάτειον* became a proverbial expression for running away'—Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 86.

ἕξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. The 86 are made up of the 40 at Sestos (§ 8), the 6 of Alcibiades (§ 11), the 20 of Theramenes (§ 12), the 20 of Thrasylbulus (§ 12).

εἰς Προκόννησον. They sailed up the Hellespont by night. Otherwise they could not have escaped the notice of the Spartan guard-ships at Abydos (Diod. xiii. 49).

14. αὐτοῖς, referring to τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *constructio ad sensum*. Cf. iv. 12 ἡρημένους referring to πόλιν, iv. 13 θαυμάζοντες to ὄχλος, II. iii. 55 ἀγνοοῦντες to βουλῇ.

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν—χρήματα ἡμῖν. See note on § 8.

15. ὥρμισαντο, i.e. in the harbour of Proconnesus, not of Parium. καὶ τὰ μικρά, 'even the small craft,' which might have escaped and given information to the enemy.

ὅς ἂν ἀλίσκηται. For this graphic use of the subjunctive after a past tense in the principal sentence, cf. § 27 μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκωνται and § 33 ἂν προσίωσιν. See also note on II. i. 2.

16. ὕοντος πολλῶ, 'as it was raining hard,' which enabled

Alcibiades to surprise the Spartan fleet. For the impersonal genitive absolute cf. *Lysias fragm.* 45 ἤδη συσκοτάζοντος 'when it was now getting dark.' Note, however, that ὕει originally had a personal subject; e.g. *Hom. Il.* xii. 25 Ζεὺς ὕει and *Herod.* ii. 13 ὁ θεὸς ὕει.

πολλῶ, instrumental dative, 'with much (rain)'; cf. *Herod.* i. 87 ὕσαι ὕδατι, i. 193 ἡ γῆ ὕεται ὀλίγῳ. *Pausanias* iv. 20 ὕειν πολλῶ τὸν θεόν. So also in a fragment of the Comic poet *Nicophon* ὑέτω δ' ἔτνει 'let it rain pea-soup.' We find the same idiom in Latin; e.g. *Livy* xxi. 62 *lapidibus pluvisse*. These parallels shew that there is no need to read πολλοῦ as *Hertlein* proposes.

ἀπειλημμένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, 'cut off by himself from the harbour.' *Cobet's* correction ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 'from the harbour' is unnecessary.

18. ταῖς εἴκοσι. The article is sometimes used with numerals to denote the part of a whole; cf. *VII. v.* 10 τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς.

ἄγοντες ἀπάσας. After this the Spartans had no fleet to speak of till *Lysander* became admiral in 408 B.C.

τῶν Συρακοσίων. After the Athenian defeat in Sicily, *Syracuse* sent 20 ships to help the Spartans (*Thuc.* viii. 26).

22. τῆς Καλχηδονίας, partitive genitive, 'in the territory of *Chalcedon*.' Cf. ii. 12, iv. 1, vi. 12.

Χρυσόπολιν, the hitherto unfortified harbour of *Chalcedon*, the modern *Scutari*. *Curtius* points out that it was admirably suited for the purpose required; for here begins the narrower part of the sound, and, on account of the current, ships were unable to cross from *Chalcedon* to *Byzantium* without touching at *Chrysopolis*.

δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν, 'they established a custom-house (lit. a tithe-office).' 'To be masters of these two straits, the *Bosporus* and the *Hellespont*, was a point of first-rate moment to *Athens*: first, because it enabled her to secure the arrival of the corn-ships from the *Euxine* for her own consumption; next, because she had it in her power to impose a tithe or due on all the trading-ships passing through. Until the spring of the preceding year *Athens* had been undisputed mistress of both the straits. But the revolt of *Abydos* in the *Hellespont* (about April 411 B.C.) and that of *Byzantium* with *Chalcedon* in the *Bosporus* (about June 411 B.C.) had deprived her of this pre-eminence; and her supplies obtained during the last few months could only have come through during those intervals when her fleets there stationed had the preponderance, so as to give them convoy'—*GROTE*.

τὴν δεκάτην 'implies that this title was something known and pre-

established. Polybius (iv. 44) gives credit to Alcibiades for having been the first to suggest this method of gain to Athens. But there is evidence that it was practised long before, even anterior to the Athenian empire, during the times of Persian preponderance'—GROTE. 'This was an attempt to cover by indirect taxation the loss caused by the cessation of tributes. Of course, the necessary consequence was that the price of corn rose at Athens; but the present measure affected the other sea-ports as well, which imported slaves, corn, fish, skins, etc. from the Pontus; and at all events brought in a considerable revenue of ready money'—CURTIUS.

ἐξέλεγον, 'began to exact'; cf. Thuc. viii. 44 χρήματα ἐξέλεξαν εἰς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων.

καὶ φυλακὴν, 'a guard also' in addition to the custom-house officers.

καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο—πολεμίους, 'and to inflict on the enemy all other damage they could.'

23. ἐπιστολέως, 'secretary,' the vice-admiral of the Spartan fleet, called also ἐπιστολιαφόρος (vi. ii. 25). See notes on iii. 17 and II. i. 7.

γράμματα—ἔάλωσαν. The ordinary rule, according to which a neuter plural subject requires a singular verb, is often not observed by Xenophon; cf. II. iii. 8 ἃ περιεγέγοντο τῶν φόρων. So there is no need to read ἔάλω with Cobet.

ἔάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, 'were intercepted (and taken) to Athens,' *constructio praeognans*; cf. § 36 εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. II. ii. 17 ἡρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. Plato *Rep.* 468 A εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλόντα.

ἔρρει, 'are lost'; cf. Xen. *Symposium* i. 15 ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα and Soph. *O. T.* 560 ἄφαντος ἔρρει.

κᾶλα, the brilliant emendation of Bergk for καλά of the MSS. It denotes 'timbers,' and appears to have been a Spartan word for 'ships'; cf. Arist. *Lysistrata* 1253 ποττὰ κᾶλα Doric for πρὸς τὰ κᾶλα. The MSS. reading is explained as 'our honour' or 'our good luck.'

ἀπεσσύα, 'is gone,' euphemism for 'is dead,' said to be Doric for ἀπεσσύη aorist passive of ἀποσεύω. But this is disputed. The MSS. readings in the parallel passage in Plutarch (*Alcibiades* 28) point to ἀπεσσοῦα as the correct form. This would be the second perfect of ἀποσεύω, and the sense requires a perfect rather than an aorist. For other views see Veitch, *Greek Verbs* s.v. σεύω.

πεινῶντι, Doric for πεινῶσι.

τῶνδρες, i.e. τοὶ (Doric for οἱ) ἄνδρες.

ἀπορίοιες, Doric for ἀποροῦμεν.

Diodorus (xiii. 52) tells us that after their defeat at Cyzicus the Spartans proposed terms of peace. Endius, the friend of Alcibiades, came to Athens and was admitted to the Assembly, to which he communicated the following terms:—(1) that each side should observe the *status quo*; (2) that the garrisons should be withdrawn from Deceleia and Pylos; (3) that there should be an exchange of prisoners. These terms the Assembly rejected on the motion of the demagogue Cleophon; for the Athenians were elated by their good fortune and hoped, under Alcibiades, to regain their old supremacy. But all this is very doubtful; see Introduction, p. xxv.

24. Φαρνάβαζος. Diodorus (xiii. 51) adds the fact that he made his camp a refuge for those who escaped from the battle.

ἐνεκα ξύλων, 'as far as timber was concerned,'—contemptuous; cf. Herod. viii. 100 οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγών—ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.

ἐφόδιον, properly money or supplies for a journey, here 'maintenance' generally. The singular is rare.

25. ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, i.e. the different cities belonging to the Peloponnesian league; cf. III. iv. 20 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας.

Ἀντάνδρῳ, a noted place for ship-building; cf. Thuc. iv. 52 ναὺς εὐπορία ἦν ποιέσθαι αὐτόθεν, ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐπικειμένης and Virg. *Aen.* iii. 5 *classemque sub ipsa Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae.*

26. ναυπηγουμένων, subject omitted, as often in Xenophon with the absolute participle; cf. § 29 δεομένων.

φρουρᾷ, garrison-duty at Antandrus.

εὐεργεσία, the title of benefactor, carrying with it various honours and privileges. Cf. VI. i. 4 πρόξενος ὑμῶν καὶ εὐεργέτης. Thuc. i. 129 κείτ' αὖ σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ εἰσαεὶ ἀνάγραφτος.

27. ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, i.e. after the battle of Cyzicus.

ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, 'that they were exiled by the democracy.' For φεύγω with the construction of a passive verb cf. § 34 ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον.

Ἑρμοκράτους, leader of the oligarchical party at Syracuse. It was he who had recommended the despatch of a Syracusan squadron in 412 B.C. to help the Spartans, promising speedy success. But now two years had passed and the Athenians had won a great victory. So in their disappointment the Syracusan people deposed the commanders of their squadron.

προηγορουντος, 'being their spokesman'; cf. II. ii. 22 προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης.

ἀγαθοὺς—παραγγελλόμενα, 'good men and true in carrying out each successive command'; cf. Thuc. ii. 11 τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὁξέως δεχόμενοι.

ἀεί, 'from time to time'; cf. II. i. 4.

μεμνημένους—ὑπάρχουσιν. In the MSS. these words stand after χρῆναι διδόναι. Dindorf's transposition adopted in the text seems to be absolutely necessary.

νενικήκατε. The sudden transition from *oratio obliqua* to *recta* is not uncommon in Xenophon; cf. II. i. 25, iv. 18.

ἀντ' ἐκείνων. ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν would have been more natural; but the writer expresses himself from his own point of view; cf. vi. 14 εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν and 2 Timothy ii. 26.

28. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν—διδόναι, a difficult passage. The meaning seems to be:—'They said it was not for them to engage in sedition against their native city, but that, if any charges were brought against them, it was their duty to render an account.'

29. δεομένων, subject 'the sailors'; cf. § 26 ναυπηγουμένων.

Γνώσιος, genitive, 'son of Gnosis.'

κατάξιν, 'procure their return from exile'; cf. § 31 τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον.

ἀπεπέμψαντο—ἐπαινοῦντες, 'dismissed them with a vote of thanks.'

30. κοινότητα, 'affability'; cf. Xen. *Cynegeticus* xiii. 9 πᾶσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι.

ὧν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε. ὧν is for ἐκείνων οὗς. Translate:—'For the best of those captains, etc., with whom he became acquainted, he would collect in his quarters....'

ἐγίγνωσκε. Mark the force of the imperfect,—'got to know from time to time.'

συναλίζων. Cf. Acts i. 4 συναλιζόμενος 'companing with.'

ἀνεκκοινοῦτο, 'communicated' (ξυνός 'common'). ἀνεκκοινοῦτο is the reading of the MSS.; but this is probably a gloss on ἀνεξυνοῦτο which is preserved by Suidas. Dakyns cleverly translates the rest of the sentence:—'These were his confidants to whom he communicated what he intended to say or do; they were his pupils to whom he gave lessons in oratory, now calling upon them to speak extempore, and now again after deliberation.'

31. ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, in the council of the Peloponnesian confederacy.

κατηγορήσας Τισσαφέρνους. This was in the previous year. Thucydides (viii. 85) says:—*ἔμελλε τὸν Τισσαφέρνη ἀποφάινειν φθείροντα τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὰ πράγματα*,—a very just accusation.

Ἀστυόχου, Spartan admiral before Mindarus. See Introduction, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

τὰ ὄντα, 'the truth'; cf. *Αναβ.* iv. 15 *ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα*.

παρεσκευάζετο. Hermocrates' attack on Syracuse did not take place till two years later.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον, 'Meanwhile the successors of the Syracusan generals had arrived.' These words are a continuation of § 29. The narrative has been interrupted by a digression.

32. ἐν Θάσῳ. The popular party in Thasos, evidently emboldened by the Spartan defeat at Cyzicus, upset the oligarchy established by Peisander (Thuc. viii. 64) and drove out the Spartan Harmost and his supporters. They then admitted an Athenian force under Thrasybulus.

ἐκπίπτουσιν, 'are driven out,' used as a passive; cf. § 27 *φεύγειν* and *ἔφυγεν* in this section.

ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, to take over command of the fleet as *ναύαρχος*, cf. vi. 1 *ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν*. Probably Cratesippidas was the immediate successor of Mindarus, Pasippidas having been merely acting-admiral.

ἡθροίκει, to supply the place of the fleet lost at Cyzicus.

33. Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις. See § 8.

Δεκελείας, 14 miles north of Athens, fortified by the Spartans on the advice of Alcibiades in 413 B.C. (Thuc. vii. 19). Agis had always been in command there since its fortification; see Introduction, p. xxx.

τοὺς ἄλλους, non-citizens, i.e. *μέτοικοι* and *ξένοι*.

τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον, in the eastern suburb of Athens, so called from the neighbouring temple of Apollo *Λύκειος*.

34. τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, lit. 'those behind all,' i.e. 'those in the rear'; cf. II. iv. 12 *ἐτάχθησαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*.

Θρασύλλῳ, dative of person interested.

ἔτι—ἦκε, 'were still more favourable to the objects for which he had come,' i.e. *στρατιᾶν καὶ ναῦς* (§ 8).

35. ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν. There would have been an extensive view from the forts at Deceleia; cf. Thuc. vii. 19 *ᾧ κοδομεῖτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως*.

πλοῖα—σίτου. For this genitive of content cf. Xen. *Cyropaedia* II. iv. 18 *ἀμάξας σίτου*.

πολλά, because of the occupation of the Bosphorus and Hellespont by the Athenians, who got most of their corn from the Euxine.

καταθέοντα, 'sailing down'; cf. Arist. *Ecccl.* 109 οὔτε θέομεν οὔτ' ἐλαύνομεν ('row') and English 'run into port,' 'run before the wind.'

εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, 'debar from tilling their land' by raids from Deceleia.

σχήσοι. The future optative is used only in *oratio obliqua* (II. i. 22) or virtual *oratio obliqua* (II. iii. 11).

ὄθεν—φοιτᾶ, 'the sources of their corn-supply by sea.'

φοιτᾶ denotes *repeated* coming; it is used especially of going to school. Herodotus uses the word of the importation of corn (vii. 23) and of the coming in of tribute (v. 17). Cf. vi. 7 and 10.

καὶ Κλέαρχον. Some editors bracket καὶ without reason. The meaning is 'Clearchus *also*,' who is to second the efforts of Agis in preventing the Athenians from getting supplies.

Κλέαρχον, the Clearchus of the *Anabasis*. In 411 B.C. he had been in command of 40 ships, when Byzantium revolted to him (Thuc. viii. 80). See Introduction, pp. xii. sqq., xlii.

36. δόξαντος τούτου, 'when this had been agreed upon.' The accusative absolute, δόξαν ταῦτα or δόξαντα ταῦτα (III. ii. 19), is also used.

Σηστόν. As Sestos was occupied by the Athenians at this time, it seems that this must be an error, either of Xenophon himself or a copyist, for Ἀβυδον.

εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν, 'got safe to Byzantium,' *constructio prae-* *gnans*; cf. § 23, iii. 22, vi. 7.

37. Ἀννίβα, genitive of Ἀννίβας. This Hannibal was son of Gisco and grandson of Hamilcar.

στρατιᾶς, genitive of material, '100,000 men composing an army'; cf. v. 21.

II.

1. Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, 'In the next year'; cf. i. 13 τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ. The year is certainly 410—409 B.C. But the words in brackets which follow denote 409—408 B.C. They were evidently inserted by a copyist whose chronology was confused. We shall meet with other similar insertions later on. See Introduction, p. xlvii.

τὰ ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα. Cf. i. 34.

πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, 'having turned into targeteers,' light troops armed with the πέλτη, a wicker shield covered with leather, as

opposed to the heavy *ἀσπίς* of the hoplites. After *ποιησάμενος* the MSS. have *ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένοις*, which appears to be a gloss. Weiske conjectures *χρησόμενος* for *ἐσομένοις*.

ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους, early in April.

2. *Πύγελα*, a few miles south-west of Ephesus.

διεσπαρμένους ὄντας, a rare combination of participles; cf. Plato *leges* 963 B *σὺ δ' ὦν δὴ διαφέρων*.

3. *ἐκτός*, 'except,' a rare use; cf. vi. 34.

4. *Νότιον*, the harbour of Colophon.

ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, 'when the corn was ripening,' i.e. in June.

πολλήν, emphatic by position, 'in great quantities.'

5. *Στάγης*. Cf. Thuc. viii. 16 *τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ πολλοί, ὧν ἦρχε Στάγης ὑπαρχος* (lieutenant) *Τισσαφέρνους*.

κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, 'engaged in their own selfish plunder,' i.e. each man getting booty for himself. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 106 *πλάζεσθαι κατὰ λήϊδα* 'to rove in search of booty.'

6. *πλευσούμενος*. *πλέω* has the two futures *πλεύσομαι* and *πλευσοῦμαι*. Cf. *νέω* 'I swim,' futures *νεύσομαι* and *νενσοῦμαι*.

βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Cf. the scene described in Acts xix.

7. *Κορησσόν*, a hill about five miles to the south-west of Ephesus.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, 'on the other side of the city'; cf. Thuc. i. 87 *ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα*.

δύο στρατόπεδα, 'both divisions' indicated above.

8. *οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*, *constructio praeagnans*. Cf. iii. 9.

Ἐφέσιοι, Sauppe's conjecture for *σφίσιν* which cannot be right.

τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν, i.e. those built at Antandrus (i. 25) to replace the 20 which came from Syracuse in 412 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 26) and which were burnt at the battle of Cyzicus.

Σελινούσiai δύο. Cf. Thuc. viii. 26 *εἴκοσι νῆες Συρακοσίων ἦλθον καὶ Σελινοῦνται δύο*.

9. *πρὸς—ἐβοήθησαν*, 'came to the rescue against....' Contrast § 3 *βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοῦς*.

πρὸς—ἐτράποντο, 'they turned to deal with those by the marsh.'

10. *ἔδωκαν—ἔδωσαν*. Xenophon is fond of putting different grammatical forms side by side; cf. IV. viii. 15 *στερηθεῖεν—ἀναγκασθεισαν* and *Cyrop.* IV. vi. 12 *παρέδωσαν—διέδωκαν*.

οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωσαν, lit. 'they granted immunity to dwell,' a condensed expression for 'they granted liberty of residence with certain immunities (from public burdens).'

αἰί, 'from time to time'; cf. i. 27.

ἡ πόλις ἀπολώλει, in the previous year; cf. i. 37.

πολιτείαν. Cf. i. 26 εὐεργεσία καὶ πολιτεία.

12. τῆς Λέσβου, partitive genitive, 'Methymna in Lesbos'; cf. i. 22 τῆς Καρχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν.

πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. Cf. § 8.

αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, 'with the men themselves,' i.e. 'crews and all,' sociative use of the dative; cf. § 16 ἵπποις πολλοῖς and v. 14. The idiomatic use with αὐτός is found also in Homer, who sometimes adds σύν. Thus we have in *Il.* xiv. 498 αὐτῇ σύν πῆληκι 'helmet and all'; in *Od.* xiv. 77 αὐτοῖς ὀβέλοισι 'spits and all.'

13. κατέλευσεν, 'stoned to death,' the MSS. reading defended by some editors. But it seems most improbable that Thrasyllus should have thus treated the cousin of his friend Alcibiades. Wolf would read ἀπέλυσεν 'released,' and Breitenbach κατελεῖσας ἀπέλυσεν 'had pity on and released.'

14. ἐν λιθοτομίαις, in revenge for the treatment of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse (*Thuc.* vii. 86).

οἱ δ', as if οἱ μὲν had preceded; cf. II. iv. 14.

15. συντάπτοντος, imperfect participle denoting an attempt.

ὡς—ὄντες—ἦκοιεν, 'as being themselves unconquered and (saying) that the others had come fresh from a defeat,'—a mixture of two constructions, ὡς being used in two senses. Cf. II. iii. 19.

16. ἀφείλετο, 'interrupted the pursuit,' lit. 'robbed them (of their prey).'

17. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης. 'The honour of the hoplites of Thrasyllus was now held to be re-established, so that the fusion of ranks was admitted without further difficulty'—GROTE.

ἡσπάζοντο, 'fraternised with.'

ἐξόδους, cognate accusative, 'went out on expeditions'; cf. *Thuc.* i. 15 στρατείας οὐκ ἐξήσαν and *Soph. Ajax* 287 ἐξόδους ἔρπειν κενάς.

18. εἰς—ἀφεστῶτας, *constructio praeagnans*; cf. i. 23 ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας.

Κορυφάσιον, Lacedaemonian name for Pylos in Messenia, taken by the Athenians in 425 B.C., and now recovered by Sparta.

Ἡρακλεία τῇ Τραχινίᾳ. Heracleia, near to the ancient Trachis (said to have been founded by Heracles) and four miles from Thermopylae, had been colonized by Sparta in 426 B.C. (*Thuc.* iii. 92).

Ἀχαιοί, the inhabitants of Achaia Phthiotis, the southern district of Thessaly. They were hostile to Sparta; for (1) they had not been

allowed to join in colonizing Heracleia (Thuc. iii. 92), (2) Agis had compelled them to give hostages and money in 413 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 3).

πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους, 'up to 700,' a rare use of πρὸς.

ἀρμοστῇ. When Lysander became Spartan ναύαρχος, Harmosts were established in nearly all the subject towns. At present we find only a few instances, e.g. i. 32 in Thasos and iii. 15 at Byzantium.

III.

1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, 409—408 B.C.

Παντακλείους—'Αντιγένους. See note on ii. 1.

ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, i.e. in April.

παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, i.e. the combined forces of Alcibiades and Thrasyllus.

2. πρὸς Καλχηδόνι, 'close to Chalcedon'; cf. ii. 10 πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ.

λείαν, not 'booty,' but portable property liable to pillage, here deposited with their neighbours for safe custody, called χρήματα 'effects' in § 3. Cf. Thuc. viii. 3 τῆς λείας τὴν πολλὴν ἀπολαβών.

τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θράκας. The Bithynian Thracians came originally from the banks of the Strymon, according to Herodotus vii. 75.

4. πίστει πεποιημένος, 'having taken pledges' from the Bithynians for friendly conduct; cf. Plutarch *Alcib.* 29 οἱ δὲ τὴν τε λείαν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ φιλίαν ὡμολόγησαν.

ἀπετείχιζε, 'by a wooden wall carried across from the Bosphorus to the Propontis, though the continuity of this wall was interrupted by a river and seemingly by some rough ground on the immediate brink of the river'—GROTE.

7. συμμεῖξαι, 'to join,' the correct spelling of the word ordinarily given as συμμίξαι (Meisterhans).

στενοπορίαν, the narrowness of the interval between the river and the wooden wall.

τοῦ ποταμοῦ, the little river Chalcedon.

τὸ Ἡράκλειον, 'the temple of Heracles.'

8. χρήματα πράξων. Cf. i. 8 ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν.

οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοί, i.e. Thrasyllus and Theramenes.

ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνας, 'as a ransom for Chalcedon,' which could not hold out for long.

9. τὸν φόρον. 'This passage strengthens the doubt which I

threw out in a former chapter whether the Athenians ever did or could realise their project of commuting the tribute for an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on imports and exports, which project is mentioned by Thucydides (vii. 28) as having been resolved upon at least, if not carried out, in the summer of 413 B.C. In the bargain here made with the Chalcedonians it seems implied that the payment of tribute was the last arrangement subsisting between Athens and Chalcedon at the time of the revolt of the latter'—GROTE.

ὅσον περ εἰώθησαν, before their revolt in 411 B.C.

τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, the arrears of tribute which had accrued since the revolt.

οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις, a noteworthy instance of *constructio praeagnans*. The meaning is 'until the envoys to the King returned from the King.' Cf. ii. 8.

13. ἡδη φεύγων. Cf. i. 32 sqq. These words are added to shew that Hermocrates did not go as the representative of Syracuse, but in a private capacity, probably with a view to getting help in his projected attack on his native city.

15. Κλέαρχος. Cf. i. 35.

περιοίκων, lit. 'dwellers around,' i.e. living on the plain round Sparta. The *Perioeci* were distributed into 20 districts, each of which was presided over by a Harmost. They were engaged in agriculture or manufactures, in which the Spartiatae were not allowed to take part. They were liable to military service, and completely subject to the ruling caste. The Ephors could put them to death without trial.

νεοδαμωδῶν. νεοδαμώδης means 'lately made one of the people'; cf. Thuc. vii. 58 δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες τὸ ἡδη ἐλεύθερον εἶναι. The class of νεοδαμώδεις was composed of those Helots who were emancipated for military and other services to Sparta. Apparently, however, they had no civil rights, as their title would seem to imply.

Μεγαρεῖς, because Byzantium was a Megarian colony.

16. κατ' ἰσχύν, used also in Aesch. *P. V.* 212. The ordinary expression is κατὰ κράτος which we have in vi. 13.

17. ἐπὶ Θράκης, 'towards Thrace,' i.e. on the Thracian coast; cf. iv. 9, II. ii. 5 and τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης often in Thucydides.

ἐπιβάτης, usually 'a marine,' cf. i. 28 and ii. 7; but here probably 'vice-admiral.' It must mean much the same as ἐπιστολεύς (i. 23), an officer who accompanied the ναύαρχος to succeed him in case of illness or death (Goodhart on Thuc. viii. 61 Λέοντα ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην δὲ Ἀντισθένη ἐπιβάτης ξυνεξήλθε).

καὶ ὅπως—Βυζαντίου. These two final clauses are coordinate with the future participles above, ληψόμενος and συλλέξων.

18. οἱ προδιδόντες, imperfect participle, 'those who were in course of betraying'; cf. Thuc. iv. 7 Ἡΐονα προδιδομένην κατέλαβε. The subject οἱ προδιδόντες has no verb, the construction being broken off by a parenthetic digression. The main narrative is resumed at the beginning of § 20.

19. ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου, 'being brought to trial on a capital charge.' The genitive is often used after verbs connected with judicial proceedings; cf. II. iii. 12 ὑπῆγον θανάτου and *Cyropaedia* I. ii. 14 θανάτου κρίνουσι. So also in Latin *capitis damnatus est*.

ἀπέφυγεν ὅτι οὐ προδοίη, *constructio praeagnans*, 'he escaped (by pleading) that....' Note that ὅτι with the optative cannot denote 'because,' as some take it here.

παῖδας—καὶ γυναῖκας, the normal order in Greek; cf. II. iv. 17 and Soph. *Trach.* 257 ξὺν παιδὶ καὶ γυναίκεϊ.

εἰσέσθαι, 'would admit,' 2nd aorist middle from εἰσίστημι. Note the accent and distinguish from εἴσεσθαι.

20. αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο. The so-called 'dative of the agent' is really a dative of person concerned. The action is done 'for them,'—'when they had got their preparations done.' Cf. v. 10 and *Anab.* II. i. 1 Κύρῳ ἠθροίσθη τὸ Ἑλληνικόν 'Cyrus got his Greek force collected.'

τὸ Θράκιον, 'the Thracian square,' an open space in the city of Byzantium; cf. *Anab.* VII. i. 24 τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἶον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαι ἐστὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκίῳν καὶ πεδινόν.

21. κατεῖχον, 'prevailed.' For this absolute use of the word cf. IV. vi. 10 μάλα κατεῖχον.

οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὃ τι ποιήσεται, 'not knowing what to do.' So in Latin *quid agam non habeo* (Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 19).

22. ἀποβαινόντων. For the omission of the subject with the genitive absolute cf. i. 26 and 29.

ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν. See note on i. 23.

Δεκέλειαν. For the escape of prisoners and slaves to the Spartan camp at Deceleia cf. ii. 14 and Thuc. vii. 27.

The capture of Byzantium 'formed the keystone in the great work accomplished in the waters of the Pontus, and completed the frustration of the undertakings commenced there by Mindarus and Pharnabazus, while it secured to Athens the most important sources of supplies. At present nothing more was to be done; for, during the progress of the

negotiations in Persia, the result of which was looked forward to with extreme anxiety, it was necessary to abstain from any act likely to irritate the Persians'—CURTIUS.

IV.

1. τῆς Φρυγίας, partitive genitive; cf. § 7 τῆς Μυσίας, § 8 τῆς Καρίας, ii. 12 Λέσβου.

Γορδίῳ, ancient capital of Phrygia, scene of the story of the 'Gordian knot.'

τοῦ ἔαρος, of the year 408 B.C.

2. οἱ—πρέσβεις. We have hitherto heard nothing of this Spartan embassy to Susa. Greek embassies to the Great King now follow one another in quick succession. 'The treasury of the Great King was to be the war-exchequer by means of which one Greek state desired to destroy the other. In order to obtain Persian money, the Spartans renounced their Doric pride and the Athenians their liberties; and, after the feeling of shame had once been overcome, the embassies on the route from Sardis to Susa succeeded one another with increasing frequency; till at last there was not a single point upon which all states and all parties were so thoroughly agreed as upon this,—that the fulfilment of their wishes must come from Persia'—CURTIUS.

Βοιωτίος ὄνομα, 'Boeotius by name.' ὄνομα is accusative of respect; cf. II. i. 15, *Anab.* II. iv. 28 πόλις ὄνομα Καίναί, *Hom. Od.* xv. 267 ἐξ Ἰθάκης γένος εἰμί.

πάντων, by inverse attraction for πάντα.

3. Κῦρος. Grote has some striking remarks on the character of Cyrus and his influence on the fortunes of the Greek world:—'The advent of Cyrus, commonly known as Cyrus the younger, into Asia Minor was an event of the greatest importance, opening what may be called the last phase in the Peloponnesian war. He was the younger of the two sons of Darius Nothus by the cruel queen Parysatis.... He brought down with him a strong interest in the Grecian war and an intense anti-Athenian feeling, with full authority from his father to carry it out into act. Whatever this young man willed, he willed strongly; his bodily activity provoked the admiration even of Spartans; and his energetic character was combined with a certain amount of ability. Though he had not as yet conceived that deliberate plan for mounting the Persian throne which afterwards absorbed his whole mind and was so near succeeding by the help of the Ten Thousand Greeks,

yet he seems to have had from the beginning the sentiment and ambition of a king, not those of a satrap. He came down well aware that Athens was the efficient enemy by whom the pride of the Persian kings had been humbled. He therefore brought down with him a strenuous desire to put down the Athenian power, very different from the treacherous balancing of Tissaphernes, and much more formidable even than the straightforward enmity of Pharnabazus, who had less money, less favour at court, and less of youthful ardour...The young prince brought with him a fresh, hearty, and youthful antipathy against Athens, a power inferior only to that of the Great King himself, and an energetic determination to use it without reserve in ensuring victory to the Peloponnesians.'

ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. In *Anab.* i. ix. 7 Cyrus is more exactly described as σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι. Note that the Greek cities on the coast are still left to the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι, 'all people in lower Asia,' i.e. on the sea-board; cf. Herod. i. 142 Ἰωνίης τὰ κάτω. Contrast the use of ἀναβῆναι (§ 4) and ἀνάξειν (§ 6), 'up' from the coast to Susa.

κάρανον, either (1) 'head' connected with κάρα, or (2) more probably, a Persian word. The explanation which follows is in favour of the latter view, unless it is a gloss, as some think.

τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων, 'the troops who muster in the plain of Castolus.'

4. μάλιστα μὲν—εἰ δὲ μή, 'best of all...and failing that...'

5. μῆ—πω, to be taken together, 'not yet.'

6. μέψηται, subject 'Cyrus.'

7. ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλεία, supply ἀνῆγαγεν.

Ἀριοβαρζάνει, afterwards the successor of Pharnabazus in his satrapy.

Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, 'Cius in Mysia,' Mysia here including the coast of the Propontis.

9. ἔχουσιν κακῶς ὑπό—λιμοῦ. For the construction cf. i. 27 φεύγειν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

10. φεύγοντα, 'though an exile,' not strictly accurate; for the decree of banishment had been rescinded in 411 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 97).

11. εὐθὺ Γυθείου, 'straight for Gytheium.' For the genitive of direction after εὐθὺ cf. Arist. *Aves* 1421 εὐθὺ Πελλήνης, and *Equites* 254 εὐθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων 'straight for the bran-shop.'

Γυθείον, the arsenal of Sparta, near the head of the Laconian gulf.

ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ, 'to keep an eye upon.' For ἐπὶ with accusative denoting purpose cf. i. 8 ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν.

καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε—ἔχει, 'and (to see) how the city was disposed to him with regard to his return home.' For the genitive of connexion after ὅπως ἔχει cf. II. i. 14 ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας, III. i. 16 ἥτις ἀριστα σωμάτων ἔχει, IV. v. 15 ὡς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχεν.

12. ἡρμένους, *constructio ad sensum* after πόλις, cf. § 13 ὄχλος—θauμάζοντες.

Πλυντήρια, 'Feast of Washing' early in June, when the statue of Athene Polias was cleansed in a sea-bath. 'He reached Peiraeus on a marked day—the festival of the Plynteria on the 25th of the month Thargelion. This was a day of melancholy solemnity, accounted unpropitious for any action of importance. The statue of the goddess Athene was stripped of all its ornaments, covered up from everyone's gaze, and washed or cleansed under a mysterious ceremonial by the holy *gens* called *Praxierygiae*. The goddess thus seemed to turn away her face and refuse to behold the returning exile'—GROTE.

ὅ—πόλει, 'which coincidence some interpreted as an omen unfavourable both to Alcibiades himself and to the city.'

13. εἰη—ἀπελογήθη. Notice the change of mood; cf. ἐστέρησαν in § 14 also depending on λέγοντες ὡς.

μόνος, 'alone' of all those banished at the same time; see Thuc. vi. 60, 88.

ἀπελογήθη ὡς—φύγοι, 'defended himself on the ground that his banishment was unjust.' For the construction cf. Plato *Phaedo* 69 D ἀπολογούμαι ὡς—φέρω. Keller and other editors bracket the words ἀπελογήθη ὡς, which are certainly not very satisfactory.

ἐλαττον—δυναμένων, 'of inferior capacity.'

μοχθηρότερα λεγόντων. For μοχθηρός in a political sense cf. the more frequent use of πονηρός in connexion with the Athenian democracy, and Cicero's use of *improbus*. In Thuc. vi. 89 Alcibiades speaks of men οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα ἐξῆγον τὸν ὄχλον, and in viii. 47 Alcibiades again uses πονηρία as synonymous with δημοκρατία. See note on II. iii. 12.

ἐκείνου—δυνατοῦ, 'while Alcibiades was always advancing the common weal both from his own means and from the resources of the state.'

τῶν αὐτοῦ. Cf. vi. 7 κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν.

14. τότε, eight years previously.

κρίνεσθαι, 'to take his trial'; cf. Thuc. vi. 29 ἐτοῖμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρίνεσθαι.

ὡς ἡσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια. Cf. Thuc. vi. 28 τὰ μυστήρια ὡς ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὕβρει, and Plutarch *Alcib.* 19 ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τῷ θεῷ 'to be guilty of impiety against Demeter and Persephone.'

ὑπερβαλλόμενοι—εἶναι, 'postponing what seemed to be a just requirement,' i.e. the demand for an immediate trial.

15. ὑπὸ ἀμχανίας δουλεύων, 'forced by stress of circumstances to be a slave,' i.e. of the Persian king.

τοὺς ἐχθίστους, i.e. Spartans and Persians.

παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. For the temporal use of παρά cf. παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον 'during the war,' παρὰ πότον 'while drinking,' παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα *flagrante delicto*.

16. οὐκ ἔφασαν—χρηῆσθαι, a difficult passage. Translate:—'They urged that it was not characteristic of men like Alcibiades to want change or revolution. For he had the advantage, under the democracy, of a position higher than any of his equals in age and not inferior to his elders; while it was the fortune of his enemies, though they had the same reputation as before, when they subsequently rose to power, to put out of the way the noblest in Athens, and then, being the only men left, to be tolerated by the citizens for the simple reason that they could not find any better rulers.'

οἶωνπερ αὐτός. For the attraction cf. οἷοισπερ below, also II. iii. 25 τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν and *Memorabilia* II. ix. 3 οἷψ σοι ἀνδρὶ.

καινῶν—πραγμάτων. Cf. Latin *res novae*. νεώτερα πράγματα is a more usual expression.

ὑπάρχειν, lit. 'to exist to start with'; cf. vi. 10 τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα 'advantages,' 'resources.'

ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, 'under the democracy,' lit. 'starting from the democracy.' The supporters of Alcibiades are here arguing against the allegation that his sacrilegious acts were connected with an oligarchical conspiracy. See Thuc. vi. 27.

αὐτῷ μὲν, answered by τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς, which words also depend on ὑπάρχειν.

τοιούτοις, a predicate assimilated to the case of ἐχθροῖς according to the ordinary rule; but lower down the dative gives way to the accusative, αὐτοὺς μόνους λειφθέντας.

οἷοισπερ πρότερον, i.e. οἷοιπερ πρότερον ἔδοξαν εἶναι.

ἀγαπᾶσθαι, 'to be acquiesced in,' 'tolerated.' ἀγαπάω never has the sense of 'love' in Attic Greek.

17. οἱ δέ, answering to οἱ μὲν in § 13.

τῶν τε—καταστήναι, 'and that perhaps he alone was the prime mover of the perils which threatened the state.'

τῶν φοβερῶν—γενέσθαι, an odd expression, 'which aroused fear of their happening'; cf. *Anab.* v. vii. 2 φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μὴ ποιήσειαν. So in our passage μὴ γένοιτο would have been clearer than γενέσθαι.

18. ἐσκόπει—εἰ παρήσαν, 'was looking out for his friends, to see if they were there.' These words contrast strangely with the extravagant accounts of the pomp and splendour of his return given by later writers.

19. τῶν—ἐπιτρέπιν, 'ready to prevent any attack upon his person,' lit. 'not to allow it.'

20. διὰ—ἐκκλησίαν, 'because the Assembly would not have tolerated it.'

ἀναρρηθὲς—ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ. If, as Droysen holds, there was always a President of the board of generals (πρύτανις τῶν στρατηγῶν), probably Alcibiades had already been elected to this office (§ 10). He was now vested with extraordinary powers. Gilbert does not accept Droysen's theory; he thinks that *all* generals holding superior authority had been appointed αὐτοκράτορες. Curtius has some valuable remarks on the position of Alcibiades at this time:—'Every day he expected news from his friend Mantisheus, who had journeyed with Pharnabazus to Susa. As soon as he could fall back upon the treasures of the Great King, he hoped to become at last in full measure the man whom the state could least spare; then at last he hoped to achieve for himself the position which had from the first been the goal of his ambition. The only difference lay in the superior calm of his present efforts and wishes. He had passed beyond the wild follies of his youth, and having now passed his 40th year had become more measured, circumspect, and cautious. The figure of Pericles stood before his eyes; a personal government was more necessary than ever, if the state was to be saved.'

πρότερον—ἅπαντας. 'Alcibiades spent the summer months in active military preparations; and in a gentle and peaceful fashion accustomed the citizens to see all public affairs conducted by one hand. Although his new position was too dangerous to allow him to venture an attack upon Deceleia, yet he restored to the Athenians the long-missed feeling of security in their own land. For the procession to

Eleusis, which had been necessarily omitted for years, could this year on the 20th of Boëdromion (end of September) pass in regular order along the Sacred Road, under the protection of the troops. This was an event in the eyes of the Athenians as encouraging and glorious as the most brilliant victory; and Alcibiades was by this religious act able to atone for the wrongs which he had formerly committed in the insolence of his youth. The divinities of the Mysteries, Demeter and Persephone, whom the Athenians hailed with especial reverence as their *Τίβο Goddesses*, had been appeased'—CURTIUS.

διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, especially the occupation of Deceleia.

ἐποίησεν, 'he celebrated the Mysteries'; cf. IV. v. 2 ἐποίησαν τὴν θυσίαν.

21. κατελίξατο—ἐκατόν. There was now a surplus in the Athenian treasury for this purpose, owing to the recent exploits of Alcibiades. Aristophanes in his *Plutus* (1193), referring to this time, represents the God of Wealth as returning into the treasure-chamber of the Parthenon, τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τῆς θεοῦ.

τετάρτῳ, a necessary correction for τρίτῳ of the MSS.; for nearly four months elapsed between the celebration of the Plynteria and the Mysteries; see notes on § 12 and § 20.

22. ἐτρέψαντο, after τὸ στράτευμα, cf. § 12 and § 13.

τὴν πόλιν, i.e. the capital of Andros.

23. ἐκείθεν ὁρμώμενος, 'making Samos his base of operations,' from which, as we learn from Diodorus and Plutarch, he made expeditions to Cos, Rhodes, and Caria.

V.

1. Κρατησιππίδα, possessive dative; cf. vi. 1. Translate:—'C.'s period of office as admiral having expired.' The office was an annual one; and the same person could not legally hold it twice. Cf. II. i. 7.

Λύσανδρον. It was a great misfortune for Athens that, immediately after the arrival of Cyrus in Asia Minor, a most energetic and able admiral was appointed by Sparta. As Curtius remarks, 'considering the utter feebleness of the naval power of the Persians, the hostility of Cyrus would not have been particularly dangerous to the Athenians, had not at the same time a man been chosen admiral at Sparta, who was able to exert the resources of his native city in a hitherto unexampled degree; and who welcomed Cyrus as the auxiliary of whom he stood in need for the destruction of Athens, no less warmly

than Cyrus welcomed him as the aptest instrument for the realisation of his plans.'

ναῦς—ἐβδομήκοντα, collected by Sparta since the battle of Cyzicus.

τοῖς—πρέσβεσιν, those mentioned in iv. 2.

2. ἃ πεποιηκώς εἶη, i.e. his vacillating and treacherous policy, well described in § 9. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxviii, xli.

ὡς προθυμοτάτου—γενέσθαι, 'to prove himself as zealous as possible.' For the case of προθυμοτάτου assimilated to Κύρου cf. iv. 16.

οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέαι, 'had determined on no other course.' For this use of γινώσκω cf. II. iii. 38 πάντες ταῦτ' ἐγινώσκομεν, and Plato *Gorgias* 505 C αὐτὸς γινώσκει 'you must settle that.'

τὸν θρόνον. Similarly in Thuc. viii. 81 Tissaphernes is ready to 'turn his bedstead into money.'

κατακόψειν, 'coin into money,' a technical term; cf. Herod. iii. 96 ἐπεὰν δὲ δεθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν δέηται. So κόμμα is used in Aristophanes for the 'stamp' of a coin (*Ranae* 726, *Plutus* 862).

4. τῷ ναύτῃ, 'for each sailor.' This use of the article is idiomatic; cf. *Anab.* I. iii. 21 τρία ἡμιδαιρικά τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ.

δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, six obols.

ἀπολείψουσι, 'would desert,' bribed by the higher pay in the Spartan fleet. At present both sides paid three obols a day (Thuc. viii. 45).

μείω—ἀναλώσει, i.e. by bringing the war to a speedy conclusion.

5. παρ' ἃ—ἄλλα, 'anything else besides what...'; cf. Arist. *Nubes* 698 οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ ταύτ' ἄλλα 'there is nothing besides this.'

τὰς συνθήκας. See Introduction, pp. xxxi, xxxii, xxxv.

τριάκοντα μνᾶς, 30 minae=3000 drachmae=18,000 obols. The normal crew must therefore have consisted of 200 men.

τρέφειν, 'to maintain'; cf. V. i. 24 τὰς ναὺς ἔτρεφε.

6. εἶπεν ὅτι. Note that ὅτι is here used to introduce a direct quotation; it corresponds to our inverted commas.

7. προοφειλόμενον, 'arrears of pay,' a correction for προσοφειλόμενον of the MSS.

ἔτι—προέδωκεν, 'further gave a month's pay in advance'; cf. V. i. 24 μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις.

9. πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου. See Introduction, p. xxxiii.

τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οὔτινες, 'none of the Greeks whatever,' i.e. 'no single Greek state.' Cf. Plato *leges* 919 D μηδεὶς γιγνέσθω μήτ' ἔμπορος

μήτε διακονίαν μηδ' ἥντινα κεκτημένος. Cf. also the frequent οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν 'nothing whatever.'

ᾧσιν. After σκοπεῖν ὅπως the more regular Greek would be ἔσονται.

10. αὐτῷ. For this use of the dative see note on iii. 20.

ἐνενήκοντα. The fleet has been reinforced by 20 vessels since the numbers were last given (§ 1).

ἀναψύχων, 'drying'; cf. Thuc. vii. 12, where Nicias complains of the rotten state of his ships:—τὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελκυσσοντας διαψύξαι.

11. Ἀλκιβιάδης δέ. The beginning of the year 407—406 B.C. should have been noted here; see Introduction, p. xlviii.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσί, 'in charge of the ships'; cf. *Cyropædæia* vi. iii. 33 τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καμήλοισ.

Ἀντίοχον, described by Plutarch as a personal favourite of Alcibiades and a convivial companion; a good seaman, but foolish and vulgar.

12. παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πρῶρας, 'close by the prows'; cf. Thuc. iv. 10 παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν 'just at the breakers' edge.' His object was to provoke Lysander to fight.

13. καὶ πάσας. Mark the force of καί, 'actually all.'

ἤνοιξεν, 'had got clear (of land),' 'had got sea room'; see note on i. 2.

14. διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, 'with their ships scattered.' For the sociative dative with a predicate attached cf. Thuc. ii. 90 δεξιῷ κέρα ἡγουμένῳ 'with the right wing leading.'

15. πρὸ τοῦ στόματος—ναυμαχεῖν, 'he drew up his ships at the mouth of the harbour, in case any one wanted to fight,' i.e. in order to tempt the enemy to fight.

διὰ τὸ—ἐλαττοῦσθαι, 'owing to his great inferiority in numbers.'

Δελφίνιον, in Chios, fortified by the Athenians in 412 B.C. as a post from which to harass the Chians who had revolted (Thuc. viii. 38).

Τέων, the correction of Weiske (on the authority of Diod. xiii. 76) for Ἡΐονα of the MSS. Teos in Ionia revolted from Athens in 412 B.C., but was quickly recovered (Thuc. viii. 16, 20). 'I copy Diodorus in putting Teos in place of Eion which appears in Xenophon. I copy the latter, however, in ascribing these captures to the year of Lysander instead of to the year of Callicratidas'—GROTE.

16. χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ. Several important points are added by other writers:—(1) that one Thrasybulus, son of Thrason, came to Athens immediately after the defeat at Notium to impeach

Alcibiades for neglect of duty and dissolute conduct (Plutarch *Alcib.* 36); (2) that complaints came from Cumæ of unprovoked aggression and plunder by Alcibiades after the battle of Notium (Diod. xiii. 73). (3) Lysias in his 22nd oration (written for a trierarch on Alcibiades' ship) makes the trierarch say that he found Alcibiades a most uncomfortable and troublesome companion.

ἄλλους δέκα. 'Since the battle of Notium must have taken place in the spring of 407, and elections were held at Athens about May 1, it would seem that Xenophon must mean, not an extraordinary election of generals to replace Alcibiades, but the ordinary elections for the year 407—406, at which Alcibiades failed to secure re-election. Otherwise we should expect to hear not of ten, but only of two or three new generals appointed to supersede him in command of the fleet'—UNDERHILL. 'Whether Alcibiades was formally deposed or merely not re-elected is uncertain. Gilbert (*Beiträge*, p. 366) assumes a charge against Alcibiades of *προδοσία* by Cleophon who was then *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*'—HOLM.

17. *πονήρως φερόμενος*, 'being in disfavour'; cf. II. i. 6 *εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις*.

τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τεῖχῃ, 'his own castle,' near Pactye in the Chersonese; cf. II. i. 25.

18. *σὺν αἷς εἶχε ναυσίν*. For the attraction cf. vi. 3 *πρὸς αἷς ἔλαβε ναυσί*.

ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, 'to take over the fleet'; cf. i. 32.

19. *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι*. Cf. ii. 12.

Δωριέα. See note on i. 2.

ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ρόδου. This must have been when Rhodes was a member of the Athenian alliance. Athens apparently claimed the right of banishment from the territory of her allies as well as from her own.

ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, depending on the verbal notion contained in *φυγάδα*, cf. i. 27 *φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*.

πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, 'being a citizen of Thurii.'

ἐλέησαντες, on account of his extraordinary celebrity as an Olympian victor; so Pausanias tells us (VI. vii. 2).

οὐδὲ χρήματα πρᾶξάμενοι, 'without even exacting a ransom.'

20. *τῆς—χώρας*, partitive genitive depending on *ἄλλῃ*. Cf. II. iv. 27.

21. *στρατιᾶς*. See note on i. 37.

Ἀκράγαντα, Agrigentum, the modern Girgenti.

VI.

1. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, 406—405 B.C.

σελήνῃ ἐξέλιπεν. This eclipse took place on April 15th, 406 B.C.

ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νέως, the temple of Athene Polias (as opposed to the more modern Parthenon), i.e. the temple which preceded the Erechtheum on the same site.

παρεληλυθότος—τοῦ χρόνου. Cf. v. 1 τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας.

Καλλικρατίδαν. 'Callicratidas, unfortunately only shown by the Fates and not suffered to continue in the Grecian world, was one of the noblest characters of his age. Besides perfect courage, energy, and incorruptibility, he was distinguished for two qualities, both of them very rare among eminent Greeks,—entire straightforwardness of dealing and a Pan-hellenic patriotism alike comprehensive, exalted, and merciful'—GROTE.

2. ὅτι—νενικηκώς. Lysander means: 'I not only have command of the sea, but I have actually defeated the enemy.' Command of the sea does not, of course, necessarily involve a victory over the enemy.

καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. Supply ἔφη out of ἐκέλευσεν,— 'and then, he said, he would acknowledge that Lysander had command of the sea.' Cf. II. i. 14.

3. οὐ φάμενου—ἄρχοντος, 'saying that it was not his way to meddle in another's command.'

πολυπραγμονεῖν, not for the future, as some say, but denoting his custom.

πρὸς αἷς—ἔλαβε. Cf. v. 18 σὺν αἷς εἶχε.

4. καταμαθὼν—καταστασιαζόμενος, 'having observed that he was the victim of intrigues.' For the construction cf. *Anab.* v. viii. 14 κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις.

ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. 'From Ephesus Lysander established communications with all parties working against democracy and against the influence of Athens, effected a common bond of union between them under himself as their common patron,...and thus made himself the master of a secret power, of which, as soon as the hour arrived, he might absolutely dispose'—CURTIUS. The main object of the intrigues of Lysander was to secure for himself a perpetual *ναυαρχία*, as is shown by the arguments of his adherents which follow.

μέγιστα—γινγνωσκόντων, 'made a grievous blunder in their frequent changes of admirals, since often unsuitable officers were appointed,

mere novices in naval experience and having no idea how to deal with men.'

γίγνομένων, 'being appointed.' Note that γίγνομαι is often used as the passive of words denoting 'make,' 'appoint,' etc.; cf. II. ii. 1.

ἀνθρώποις, not the sailors, but 'human beings' generally, especially τοῖς ἐκεῖ mentioned below, 'the people of those parts,' i.e. in Ionia. These officers are alleged 'to have no knowledge of the world.'

τι παθεῖν, i.e. 'to come to grief,' a frequent euphemism, characteristic of the Greek language.

5. τὸ κατ' ἐμέ, 'as far as I am concerned'; cf. Hierod. vii. 158 τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς and Romans i. 15 τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον.

πρὸς ἃ—αἰτιάζεται, 'in reference to my personal ambitions and the charges brought against our city' (i.e. for the frequent change of admirals).

6. ἐφ' ἃ ἤκει. Cf. i. 34.

7. ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν, i.e. hanging about the palace gates at Sardis like a beggar.

φοιτήσεσιν, properly 'constant visits'; cf. § 10 and i. 35.

σωθῇ οὔκαδε. Cf. i. 36 εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν and iii. 22 ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

διαλλάξιν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, a striking example of the Pan-hellenic patriotism of Callicratidas.

8. ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. Cf. i. 27.

9. οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. Cf. iii. 9 οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις.

10. τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα, 'the funds already here.' Lysander had returned to Cyrus the unspent balance in order to embarrass his successor.

11. τῶν συμβάντων—ἀγαθῶν, 'any services you may render.'

ἐκεῖνα, 'those other supplies,' i.e. the money from Sparta (§ 9).

θαυμάζειν, 'to worship'; cf. Isocr. i. 36 τὸν ἐν μοναρχίᾳ οἰκοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα προσήκει θαυμάζειν.

12. μάλιστα—ἰδίᾳ, 'especially those who were accused of opposing him, in alarm proposed a grant of money, making offers of private contributions as well.'

οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι, the partisans of Lysander; cf. § 4.

ἐκ Χίου—ἐφοδιασάμενος, 'having procured from Chios a payment of five drachmas apiece for his seamen.'

τῆς Δέσβου, partitive genitive; cf. i. 22, ii. 12, iv. 1.

13. ἐμφροῦρων—Ἀθηναίων, 'since there was an Athenian garrison in the town.'

τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχόντων, 'those who had control of the government.' Thuc. (iii. 72) has the same phrase.

ἄπτικιζόντων. Methymna had remained steadfast to Athens when the rest of the island revolted in 428 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 2).

14. ἀνδράποδα, 'captives,' not 'slaves'; cf. § 15.

εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν, 'if he could help it.' For ἐκείνου see note on i. 27.

ἀνδραποδισθῆναι should mean 'had been enslaved'; but the meaning required is apparently 'would be enslaved.' So perhaps we ought with Naber to read οὐδέν' ἄν.

15. τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουρούς. In spite of his boast above, it is clear that Callicratidas sold the Athenian garrison into slavery. Grote in his enthusiasm for his hero ignores this inconsistency. It is possible, however, that the Athenian garrison may have been μέτοικοι, many of whom were not Greeks at all.

τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα. Cf. Thuc. viii. 28 τὰ ἀνδράποδα καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.

εἶπεν, 'sent word.'

μοιχῶντα, 'dallying with' the sea, Sparta's bride. He carried out his threat by blockading Conon's fleet in the harbour.

ὑποτεμνόμενος, 'trying to cut off.'

16. ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις, 'with his ships sailing fast'; cf. v. 14 διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί.

διὰ τὸ—ἐρέτας, 'because the best rowers had been selected for a few vessels out of many crews'; cf. v. 20.

ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, evidently including by anticipation the 30 captured Athenian ships mentioned in the next section; for in § 3 Callicratidas has 140 ships, and in § 26 still 170 as here.

17. ἔφθη—κατακωλυθείς, 'his escape was prevented by the rapid movements of the enemy.'

19. σίτων. For this genitive cf. i. 10.

κοίλην ναῦν, 'the hollow of the ship,' i.e. the hold. The marines would be ordinarily on deck.

παρarrύματα. 'In the Athenian war-ships the rowers were protected against sun and spray by awnings termed παρarrύματα or παραβλήματα, which were spread along each side to cover the open space below the hurricane-deck. Every ship carried two pairs of these, one pair of sail-cloth, and the other of horse-hair or possibly of hide'—TORR, *Ancient Ships*, p. 52, who refers to this passage and II. i. 22 τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλων. 'In both instances,' he adds, 'a fight was

expected; yet they were not spread to protect the crew, but to conceal the crew for a surprise; so they were spread over the open spaces below the hurricane-deck, for here alone would the crew be visible.' He compares Caesar *bell. civ.* iii. 15 *pellibus quibus erant tectae naves*.

20. ἀνείχον, intransitive, 'they held on,' 'kept it up.' Contrast the use of the verb in § 28.

ὥς—εἶναι. Xenophon alone among Attic prose writers uses this construction for ὥστε εἶναι.

21. ὥς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον, 'as each crew got clear of the land'; cf. i. 2 and v. 13.

ἐπειγόμενοι, Göller's correction for ἐγειρόμενοι of the MSS., which cannot be right.

22. εὐριπον, 'a strait which opens on the southern coast of the island into an interior lake or bay, approaching near to the town. Diodorus (xiii. 79) confounds the Euripus of Mitylene with the harbour of Mitylene, with which it is quite unconnected'—GROTE.

24. ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, i.e. military age, 18 to 60.

δούλους, only employed in great emergencies, e.g. at Marathon. Those who fought at Arginusae were rewarded with freedom and allotments of land; cf. Arist. *Ranae*, 693.

εἰσέβησαν, as marines. The Knights were ordinarily exempt from service at sea.

25. ὁμοίως δὲ—οὔσαι, 'and likewise also any ships already engaged on foreign service.'

27. ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις, three little islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

28. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, 'when it (the rain) held up'; cf. Theognis xxvi. 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς οὐθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει οὐτ' ἀνέχων.

29. παρατεταγμένοι ᾧδε. 'The Athenian fleet was so marshalled, that its great strength was placed in the two wings, in each of which there were 60 ships, distributed into four equal divisions. Of the four squadrons of 15 ships each, two were placed in front, two to support them in the rear...The centre was left weak and all in single line; it appears to have been exactly in front of one of the islands of Arginusae'—GROTE.

ὀνόματι Ἰππεύς. Contrast iv. 2 Βοιώτιος ὄνομα, the more usual construction.

ἐχόμεναι δέ, supply τούτων, 'next to these,' lit. 'clinging on to these.' Cf. Thuc. vi. 3 τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους.

ταξιάρχων. Strictly the taxiarchs were ten in number like the

στρατηγοί, one for each tribe, and next in rank to them. They got their name from the τάξεις, the divisions of the hoplites in the Athenian army, of which there were ten in a fully-equipped army. But the title is sometimes used vaguely for 'officers' generally; and apparently in this chapter only we find the word used for naval officers.

ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις, 'next to these.' Cf. i. 34.

ναύάρχων. Nothing is known for certain of the position of the ναύαρχοι in the Athenian navy. It has been suggested that they were the commanders of the sacred triremes.

30. τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, 'the same number of ships.'

31. διέκπλουν διδοῖεν, 'give the enemy a chance of breaking their line.' The manœuvre called διέκπλους 'sailing through to the rear' consisted in rowing through intervals in the enemy's line, doing any damage possible in passing, and then turning suddenly and ramming his ships in the stern or some weak part before they could get round. Cf. Herod. vi. 12, Thuc. i. 49, ii. 83, vii. 36.

χείρον γὰρ ἔπλεον. Cf. Thuc. ii. 89 διέκπλοι οὐκ εἰσὶν—ἄπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν.

περίπλουν, a manœuvre in which a portion of the squadron wheeled round and took the enemy's fleet in flank. Cf. Thuc. ii. 84, vii. 36. 'The fact which strikes us the most is that, if we turn back to the beginning of the war, we shall find that this *diekplus* and *periplus* were the special manœuvres of the Athenian navy, and continued to be so even down to the siege of Syracuse; the Lacedaemonians being at first absolutely unable to perform them at all, and continuing for a long time to perform them far less skilfully than the Athenians. Now...the superiority of nautical skill has passed to the Peloponnesians and their allies'—GROTE.

32. οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκείται, 'will certainly be none the worse off' is the meaning required; but οἰκεῖται can hardly be a contracted future as Classen thinks, and a present indicative is without parallel after οὐ μὴ. The correction οἰκίεται is not satisfactory, for this should mean 'will found a colony.' Keller adopts Breitenbach's emendation οἰκήσει, cf. *Cyropaedia* viii. i. 2 ποῖαι πόλεις νομίμως ἂν οἰκήσειαν; Plato *leges* 702 A πῶς ἂν πόλις ἄριστα οἰκοίη; Thucydides has ἄριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκῆσεται (viii. 67).

33. ἀποπεσών. 'His ship was in the act of driving against the ship of an enemy, and he himself probably (like Brasidas at Pylos) had planted himself on the forecastle, to be the first in boarding the enemy or in preventing the enemy from boarding him, when the

shock arising from impact threw him off his footing, so that he fell overboard and was drowned'—GROTE.

ἡφανίσθη, lit. 'was lost to sight,' especially of those lost at sea; cf. Thuc. viii. 38 ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλῃτι ἡφανίσθη.

34. ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων. Cf. ii. 3.

35. καταδεδυνκίας, 'disabled,' 'water-logged'; cf. vii. 32. 'καταδύειν ναῦν does not mean "to sink a ship to the bottom," but to make her water-logged, so that she was useless, although she did not absolutely go down. The Greek triremes were so light and so shallow, that they would float in a manner under water, or rather with parts of the vessel still out of water, on which the crew used to take refuge. This appears from a passage in Herodotus, viii. 90, where the crew of a ship that had been sunk as far as it would sink, were still able to throw their javelins from it with such effect, that they cleared the deck of the ship which had sunk them and actually took her'—ARNOLD on Thuc. i. 50.

36. ὁ ὑπηρετικός κέλῃς, 'the despatch boat'; properly a boat 'attending on' a larger vessel. Cf. Demosth. p. 1221 ἀφικνεῖται ὑπηρετικὸν ἄγον ἄνδρα καὶ ἐπιστολάς. 'This name (ὑπηρετικόν) was given to the small craft in a fleet or to any vessels in attendance on others of larger size'—TORR, *Ancient Ships*, p. 115.

37. τὰ εὐαγγέλια, 'the sacrifice of thanksgiving for good news,' cognate accusative; cf. Arist. *Equites* 656 εὐαγγέλια θύειν ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῇ θεῷ.

ἐμπόροις, the traders who followed the fleet; for the sailors had to provide for themselves.

τὰ χρήματα, 'their goods'; cf. Thuc. iii. 74 χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη.

τὴν ταχίστην, (δόδον understood) with ἀποπλεῖν to be repeated from the previous clause. Cf. vii. 29.

On the important question of the alleged Spartan proposals for peace after the battle of Arginusae, and the evidence of Aristotle's 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία thereon, see Introduction, p. xxv.

VII.

1. ἐν οἴκῳ, for the more usual οἴκοι; cf. v. 16.

ἔπαυσαν, 'deposed.' The battle of Arginusae was fought in July or August 406 B.C., before which their term of office would have expired; probably they had been re-elected in May.

πλὴν Κόνωνος, who being blockaded in Mytilene had taken no part in the battle.

οὐκ ἀπῆλθον, i.e. they went into voluntary exile.

2. Ἀρχέδημος, spoken of by Lysias as a 'blear-eyed person who embezzled not a little of the people's money' (xiv. 25), and by Aeschines as one who 'corrupted the people by distributions of money' (*de fals. leg.* 76).

ὁ τοῦ δήμου—προεστηκώς, i.e. προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, constantly used in Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. for the leader of the popular party, e.g. of Cleisthenes, Pericles, Cleon, Cleophon. Cf. Thuc. viii. 65 Ἀνδροκλέα τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προεστῶτα. viii. 89 ἡγωνίζετο ἕκαστος αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι. ii. 65 τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας. Arist. *Equites* 1128, where Demos says he likes to have ἓνα προστάτην. 'At one time it was thought that this title denoted a magistrate with definite powers; but Arnold and Grote have shown that it is purely unofficial, and was only used to describe the leading demagogue, who acted as guardian and representative of the demos, as the ordinary προστάτης did of the μέτοικος. It was equivalent to δημαγωγός with a notion of primacy. His power was entirely dependent on the support of the Assembly; but his position compared with that of other speakers was recognised as special and pre-eminent'—WHIRLEY, *Parties in Athens*, p. 51.

διωβελίας, Dindorf's reading, which is doubtless correct, for διωκελίας or διωκελείας of most MSS. Most editions have the impossible Δεκελείας, which appears in one good MS. The διωβελία (or διωβολία), a daily allowance of two obols, the price of admission to the ordinary seats in the theatre, was a disbursement from the Theoric Fund, on which Grote has some interesting remarks:—'The Theoric Fund was essentially the Church Fund at Athens,—that upon which were charged all the expenses incurred by the state in the festivals and the worship of the gods. The *Dioboly* was one part of this expenditure, given in order to ensure that every citizen should have the opportunity of attending the festival and doing honour to the god....To this fund it was provided by law that the surplus of ordinary revenue should be paid over, after all the cost of the peace establishment had been defrayed. There was no appropriation more thoroughly coming home to the common sentiment, more conducive as a binding force to the unity of the city, or more productive of satisfaction to each individual citizen.'

Cf. Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 28 Κλεοφῶν ὁ λυροποιὸς ὃς καὶ τὴν διωβελίαν ἐπόρισε πρῶτος. Demosth. *de corona* p. 234 ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν 'in the two-obol seats.' The διωβελία was paid not only at

the Dionysia, but at all the great festivals. Wilamowitz holds that the *διωβελία* introduced by Cleophon was a gigantic pension scheme giving every Athenian two obols a day. But this would have been a financial impossibility; see *Classical Review*, vol. xii. p. 169.

ἐπιμελόμενος, 'administrator' of the *διωβελία*, in virtue of which office he had apparently power to inflict fines. Doubtless he was one of the functionaries called in Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 43 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν 'managers of the Theoric Fund.'

ἐπιβολήν, 'a fine' imposed by a magistrate without reference to a court of law. Two processes are spoken of in this sentence, (1) the fine, (2) a subsequent prosecution before a dicastery.

3. εἰς τὸν δῆμον, i.e. to take their trial before the Ecclesia; see next section. 'This was a masterpiece of intrigue, the success of which enables us to form an idea of the ruinous depth to which the city had fallen. Evidently the whole attempt proceeded upon the calculation that, while that part of the civic body in which courage and sense of right still continued to exist—viz. the entire body of men under arms—was absent, the civic body was only composed of a minority, including many aged and feeble persons. There was a lack of men to watch over the legality of public proceedings'—CURTIUS.

4. καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, although apparently he, if anyone, was guilty; cf. note on § 5.

δικαίους—ναυαγούς, 'they ought to give an explanation why they had not picked up the shipwrecked crews.'

οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. 'See the narrative of Diodorus (xiii. 100—102) where nothing is mentioned except about picking up the floating *dead* bodies, about the crime and offence in the eyes of the people of omitting to secure burial to so many *dead* bodies. He does not seem to have fancied that there were any *living* bodies, or that it was a question between life and death to so many of the crews. Whereas if we follow the narrative of Xenophon we shall see that the question is put throughout about picking up the *living* men belonging to the broken ships'—GROTE. Holm, combining the statements of Xenophon and Diodorus, holds that the generals were impeached 'for not having rescued the sufferers and brought away the dead.' See note on § 15. For *ἀναιρεῖσθαι* 'rescue' cf. Eurip. *Hel.* 1616.

ναυαγούς, used of living people who have suffered shipwreck, e.g. Eurip. *Hel.* 408 καὶ νῦν τάλας ναυαγὸς—ἐξέπεσον ἐς γῆν τήνδε. Cf. *naufragus* in Latin. This is further made clear by reference to vi. 36, vii. 11, II. iii. 32 and 35. Whatever may have been the exact charge

against the generals, Xenophon clearly dwells particularly, if not exclusively, on the failure to rescue living men.

ὅτι μὲν γὰρ—στρατηγοί, 'to prove that they had not attempted to attach blame to anyone else, he quoted as evidence the despatch sent by the generals.'

5. οἱ στρατηγοί—ἐκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, partitive apposition; cf. II. i. 4 and *Anab.* I. viii. 9 πάντες δὲ οὗτοι—ἐκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο.

κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which allowed a definite time for the defence measured by the κλεψύδρα or water-clock.

ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, 'who had already held the office of στρατηγός'; cf. i. 12 and Thuc. viii. 75.

Θηραμένει. 'Theramenes never disputed the fact that he had received orders to save the shipwrecked crews; he was consequently liable to punishment if he failed to execute them. Beloch (*Att. Pol.* p. 87), in order to exculpate Theramenes, comes to the conclusion that the generals ought not to have entrusted such an important mission to two subordinate officers. That may be; but it is plain that this did not justify Theramenes, first, in disobeying orders, and, secondly, in hounding his superiors to death'—HOLM.

6. καὶ εἴπερ—αἰτιάσασθαι, 'and if they must needs blame any one at all, they had no one else to accuse of neglecting the duty of picking up (the shipwrecked crews).'

καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε—εἶναι, 'And, they continued, we will not, just because they accuse us, falsely allege that Theramenes and Thrasybulus are guilty.'

ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος, supply φάσκομεν from the previous clause.

7. ἐπειθον. Note the force of the imperfect,—'they were convincing,' 'they were in a fair way to convince.'

ἐβούλοντο—καθεύρων, 'Many private citizens rose and offered to become bail for the generals. And it was resolved to postpone (the final decision) to another meeting of the Assembly; for it was now late and they would have been unable to see the show of hands,' i.e. to count them at the χειροτονία or voting.

τὴν δὲ βουλήν—κρίνουντο, 'It was also resolved that the senate should prepare a measure and introduce it (at the next assembly) as to the procedure to be adopted in the trial of the accused.'

προβουλεύσασαν. In the ordinary way, a προβούλευμα, or preliminary decree of the Council, on the subject was necessary before a measure could be passed in the Ecclesia.

8. Ἀπατούρια, the general festival of the φρατρίαι held by the

Athenians and almost all the Greeks of the Ionian name. It took place in the month of Pyanepsion (October—November) and lasted three days. On the first day, the 11th of Pyanepsion, there were banquets, on the second sacrifices, and on the third the registration of children before the assembled members of each *φρατρία*. On the third day also prizes were given for recitations etc. by the young.

πατέρες. The conjecture of Zeune and Brunck, *φράτορες* or *φράτερες*, is clever and tempting, but not necessary. Mr Herbert Richards, apparently unaware that it is an old one, revives the proposal in the *Classical Review*, vol. xii. p. 27. With *πατέρες* Grote compares Talleyrand's cynical remark :—*ces pères de famille sont capables de tout*, adding that the same words, understood in a far more awful sense, sum up the moral of this melancholy proceeding at Athens.

οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, 'Theramenes and his supporters'; cf. iii. 46, iv. 6. So in Plato **οἱ περὶ Ἡράκλειτον** 'Heracleitus and his school.'

παρεσκεύασαν, 'suborned,' frequent in an invidious sense; e.g. *παρασκευάζειν μάρτυρας, συκοφάντας, δικαστήριον*. 'Xenophon,' says Grote, 'describes this burst of feeling at the Apaturia as false and factitious, and the men in mourning as a number of hired impostors, got up by the artifices of Theramenes to destroy the generals. But the case was one in which no artifice was needed. The universal and self-acting stimulants of intense human sympathy stand here prominently marked.'

ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένους, 'shorn close'; cf. Herod. iv. 175 *κείροντες ἐν χρῶ*.

ὥς δὴ, 'as if forsooth'; cf. v. iv. 3 *ὥς δὴ ἀπύοντες*. Aesch. *Agam.* 1616 *ὥς δὴ σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει*.

9. Καλλιξίνου εἰπόντος. He proposed the *προβούλευμα* in the *βουλή* and the *ψήφισμα* in the *ἐκκλησία*. Cf. § 26.

ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων. This is dishonest; for the generals had not yet had a proper opportunity of defending themselves. Cf. § 5 *βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο*.

διαψηφίσασθαι, depending on *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ* understood.

δύο ὕδρίας. Open voting was unconstitutional in such a case; cf. ii. iv. 9 *φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψήφον*.

ἀδικεῖν, 'to be guilty,' an idiomatic use of the present; cf. § 28 *καταλύντι*—*προδιδόντι* and the use of *νικᾶν* 'to be conqueror,' e.g. ii. i.

10. τοῖς ἑνδεκα, the board of Eleven, consisting of 10 members chosen by lot, one from each tribe, and a *γραμματεὺς* 'secretary.' Cf. Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 52 *τοὺς ἑνδεκα - ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἐν τῷ*

δεσμωτηρίῳ, where their other duties are added. Plato *Phaedo* 59 E λύνουσι γὰρ οἱ ἑνδεκά Σωκράτη καὶ παραγγέλλουσιν ὅπως ἂν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσῃ.

τῆς θεοῦ, Athene, who had her treasury on the Acropolis; cf. ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ 'the treasurers of the goddess' and note on iv. 21.

11. τεύχους ἀλφίτων, 'meal-tub,' not 'a tub of meal,'—a strange use of the genitive of material. In i. 35 πλοῖα σίτου means 'ships laden with corn.'

τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, 'those who were perishing' on the wrecks, τοὺς ναυαγούς of § 4.

12. προσεκαλέσαντο, 'served a summons (πρόσκλησις).'

παράνομα—συγγεγραφέναι, 'that he had made an unconstitutional proposal.' The simple verb γράφειν is ordinarily used in this sense; cf. § 34 ἔγραψε γνώμην. A vote in the ἐκκλησία might be obviated by the declaration of a member that he would bring a γραφή παρανόμων ('an indictment of an unconstitutional proposal') against the proposer. Holm lays great stress on the importance of the γραφή παρανόμων at Athens. Democracy without responsibility on the part of a mover of a resolution did not meet with the approval of the Athenians; and this is the key to many peculiarities of their political life. Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi.

δεῖνόν—βούληται, 'it was monstrous that the people should not be allowed to do what they wished.' The τις is contemptuous, referring to Euryptolemus; cf. vi. iv. 2 εἰ μή τις ἐώη.

13. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις—κλήσιν, 'And when on the strength of this Lyciscus proposed that, if Euryptolemus and his friends did not abandon their suit, they too should be tried by the same vote as the generals.'

ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'on the strength of these shouts.'

τὴν κλήσιν, 'their summons,' i.e. the threatened γραφή παρανόμων. Cf. καλεῖν in § 14 and προσεκαλέσαντο in § 12.

14. πρυτάνεων. In Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 43 we have a full account of the πρυτάνεις and their functions:—'The Council of 500 is elected by lot, 50 from each tribe. Each tribe holds the office of πρυτάνεις in turn, the order being determined by lot. The first four bodies of πρυτάνεις serve for 36 days each, the last six for 35 (i.e. each for a tenth of the year). The πρυτάνεις for the time being mess together in the Θόλος or *Rotunda* and receive their maintenance from the state. They convene the meetings of the Council and the Assembly. They draw up the programme of ἀγenda for both bodies.... There is a single

ἐπιστάτης or President of the *πρυτάνεις*, who presides for a night and a day.... Whenever the *πρυτάνεις* convene a meeting of the Council or Assembly, he appoints by lot 9 *πρόεδροι*, one from each tribe except that which holds the office of *πρυτάνεις* for the time being; and out of these nine he similarly appoints one as President and hands over the programme for the meeting to them. They take it and see to the preservation of order and put forward the subjects to be considered, decide the results of the votings, and direct the proceedings generally. They also have power to dismiss the meeting. No one may act as President more than once in the year.'

προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν, 'to put the question to the vote.' The ordinary term for this is ἐπιψηφίζειν.

τὰ αὐτά, cognate accusative, 'the same charge' as against Euryptolemus.

οἱ δὲ—φάσκοντας, 'And they shouted to him to summon all who refused.'

15. Σωκράτους. Cf. Plato *Apology* 32 B, where Socrates says:— 'Let me tell you a passage of my own life which will prove to you that I should never have yielded to injustice from any fear of death.... I will tell you a tale of the courts, not very interesting perhaps, but nevertheless true. The only office of state which I ever held was that of Senator: the tribe of Antiochis, which is my tribe, had the presidency at the trial of the generals who had not taken up (the drowning crews) after the battle of Arginusae; and you proposed to try them in a body, which was illegal, as you all thought afterwards; but at the time I was the only one of the Prytanes who was opposed to the illegality, and I gave my vote against you' (Jowett's translation,—except that I have substituted 'drowning crews' for 'bodies of the slain' which is incorrect; for Plato's τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας, viewed in the light of Xenophon's narrative, must at least include living men).

With reference to a recent attempt to show that the charge against the generals referred only to the neglect of the ἀναλρεσις τῶν νεκρῶν, Holm admits that this particular point constituted the offence against religion.

πλὴν Σωκράτους, i.e. he protested at the deliberations of the *πρυτάνεις* before the question was put.

οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον. Cf. *Memorabilia* IV. iv. 2 ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφισασθαι. Plato *Gorgias* 474 A ἐπειδὴ ἡ φυλὴ ἐπρυτάνευε καὶ ἔδει με ἐπιψηφίζειν, γελῶτα

παρεῖχον καὶ οὐκ ἠπιστάμην ἐπιψηφίζειν, though it is not quite certain that this passage refers to the present occasion.

16. κατηγορήσων, carried out in §§ 17—19.

ὑπεραπολογησόμενος „ „ §§ 29—33.

συμβουλεύσων „ „ §§ 19—29.

Περικλέους, son of the great Pericles by Aspasia.

ἀναγκαῖον, cousin of Euryptolemus.

17. μετέπεισαν, 'over-persuaded them,' i.e. to abandon their purpose, 'won them over.' This is Brückner's emendation for ἐπεισαν of the MSS. Goldhagen suggests ἐπανσαν.

18. εἶτα—ἀπολέσθαι; 'Then must they (the rest of the accused) now share the blame, though it was the other two alone (i.e. Pericles and Diomedon) who blundered? And in return for the generosity then shown are they now in danger of losing their lives thanks to the intrigues of Theramenes, Thrasybulus and others?'

εἶτα, *indignantis* as often.

ἐκείνων—ἐκείνων, awkwardly referring to different people.

φιλανθρωπίας, because they did not censure Theramenes and Thrasybulus in their despatch.

19. οὐκ—αὐτοὺς, 'No, not if you listen to me and do what is just and right, and follow a course which will enable you best to learn the truth and will save you from the sorrow of finding, alas too late, that you have sinned most grievously against Heaven and your own selves.'

οὐκ, ἄν—πείθησθε. Cf. Plato *Phaedo* 89 B οὐκ, ἄν γ' ἐμοὶ πείθη.

καὶ ὄθεν, i.e. καὶ ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦντες ὄθεν.

σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, 'yourselves'; cf. I. 27 αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς and § 29 ἐαυτῶν ὄντες.

εἰδότες, 'with full knowledge of the facts.'

εἰ μὴ—ἡμέραν. 'if not more, at any rate one whole day'; cf. *Cyropaedeia* V. v. 33 εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα.

20. τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα, 'originally adopted we do not know when, on a proposition of a citizen of that name, as a decree for some particular case, but since generalized into common practice and grown into great prescriptive reverence.' So Grote, who adds, without sufficient reason, that this ψήφισμα forbade any collective trial or sentence and directed that there should always be a separate judicial vote. There is no warrant for this statement in the text or in the only other passage which bears on the subject, Arist. *Ecclesiastusae* 1089

τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ σαφὺς

ψήφισμα δεῖ με διαλελημμένον

'My fate is exactly like that of one indicted under Cannonus' decree; I must (take my trial) grasped tight (*by fetters* or as the Scholiast takes it *by a warder on either side*).' διαλελημμένον therefore answers to δεδεμένον in our passage; and there is no evidence whatever in favour of Grote's view that the decree contained the words δίχα ἕκαστον or something to that effect. See note on § 23.

ἀδικῇ. For the tense cf. § 10 ἀδικεῖν.

ἀποδικεῖν, 'defend himself,' an archaic word, doubtless used in the decree itself.

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, i.e. before the Ecclesia; cf. § 3.

τὸ βάραθρον, a deep pit in a north-west suburb of Athens, into which criminals, or the dead bodies of criminals, were thrown. The functionary in charge of it had the euphemistic name of ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ δρύγματι 'the man at the pit.'

δημευθῆναι. Cf. § 10 δημοσιεῦσαι and § 22 δημόσια εἶναι.

22. τοῦτο δ' εἰ βούλεσθε, 'But if you prefer this,' i.e. the following course.

ἐπὶ—προδοταῖς, 'applicable to those accused of sacrilege or treason.' μὴ ταφῆναι, depending on ὅς (νόμος) ἐστὶν above.

23. τούτων—ἕνα ἕκαστον, 'Choose between these two laws and let the accused be tried by one or other of them—separately, each having his day to himself divided into three parts,' i.e. 'Grant them a separate trial, whether they are to be tried (1) before the Ecclesia under the decree of Cannonus or (2) before a dicastery under the law against sacrilege and treason.' Separate trial was doubtless a fundamental maxim of Attic jurisprudence and was not specially guaranteed by the decree of Cannonus as Grote thinks.

ὁποτέρῳ—τῷ νόμῳ. This use of the article is idiomatic; cf. Plato *Gorgias* 520 ἐπὶ ποτέραν με παρακαλεῖς τὴν θεραπείαν;

διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν. Cf. *Cynopaignεία* I. ii. 5 δώδεκα Περσῶν φυλαὶ διήρηνται.

διαψηφίζεσθαι, ὕστερον πρότερον, for the verdict should come last.

ἐάν τε—ἐάν τε μή, strange Greek for πότερον—ἢ μή. Nietzsche would omit the words ἐνὸς μὲν—ἀπολογήσασθαι, and Keller brackets them.

24. οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται, 'they will not be found guilty and ruined.' The negative influences both words; cf. Thuc. iv. 126 οὔτε τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἂν λιπεῖν τινὰ χώραν 'they do not keep any order and would not be ashamed to abandon a position.' Cobet without sufficient reason reads ἀδίκως for ἀδικοῦντες and Stephanus οὐχ ὥς ἀδικοῦντες.

25. τοὺς ἐκείνους—ἀφελομένους, 'who took from them 70 ships.' For the double accusative cf. Soph. *Electra* 1276 μή μ' ἀποστερήσης ἡδονάν and Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 34 τούτους ἀφείλετο τὴν πολιτείαν.

ἐβδομήκοντα. Cf. vi. 34.

τούτους, an emphatic repetition of the object; cf. II. iv. 13.

τί δὲ—ἐπείγεσθε; 'What are you afraid of that you are in such a hurry?' The stress of the sentence is on the participle (as often in Greek), which is here emphasised by καί. Cf. ii. 13.

26. ἡ μὴ—παρὰ τὸν νόμον, 'Are you afraid you will lose the power of life and death over whom you please, if you conduct the trial according to law, but not afraid, if you do so in defiance of law?'

τὸν νόμον, not 'the law,' but 'law,'—generic use of the article. The reference is to the principle of law which demanded a separate trial, as is shewn in the words which follow.

εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ, supply κρίνειν,—'to propose to the people (a trial) by one verdict'; cf. § 7.

27. ἀλλ' ἴσως—ἡμαρτηκότας. The readings in this section are very doubtful, the MSS. differing considerably. Those given in the text appear to be the best.

μεταμελήσαι—ἔστί, as the Athenians found out too late; cf. § 35.

ἤδη, 'by that time,' when remorse has set in.

πρὸς δ' ἔτι—ἡμαρτηκότας, 'more especially when the error has actually cost a human being his life.'

28. δεινὰ—ἀποστερήσετε, 'Your conduct would be monstrous, if after, in the case of Aristarchus...having granted him a day for his defence..., you now mean to deprive the generals...of these same privileges.'

ποιήσατε, Zeune's correction for ποιήσσετε of the best MSS., which is impossible; see note on i. 35 εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι.

Ἀριστάρχω, one of the Four Hundred; cf. Thuc. viii. 90 ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ.

τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, in the revolution of 411 B.C.

Οινόην προδιδόντι, to the Thebans; cf. Introduction, p. xli. Note the present participles denoting a permanent character,—'destroyer of the democracy—betrayer of Oenoe.' Cf. § 10 ἀδικεῖν.

κατὰ γνώμην, 'to your satisfaction.'

ἀποστερήσετε. Cobet needlessly conjectures ἀποστερήσσετε. A symmetrical conditional sentence is not necessary; and the future is much more forcible,—'if you mean to deprive'; cf. II. i. 9.

29. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, supply ποιεῖτε τοῦτο.

ἐαυτῶν, for ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, cf. § 19 εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς and i. 27 αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε.

ὄντες, restored by Hartman (*Analecta*, p. 292). He is apparently unaware that his reading is found in one MS. and that it was approved long ago by Peter and Hertlein. The ordinary reading is *δντας*, which gives a poor sense,—‘keeping the laws since they are your own.’

ἐαυτῶν ὄντες, ‘being your own,’ i.e. ‘following your own judgment,’ opposed to τοῦ λέγοντος ὄντες ‘being at the mercy of any speaker’; cf. Soph. *O. T.* 917 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, Arist. *Equites* 860 μὴ τοῦ λέγοντος ἴσθι. With our phrase cf. Demosth. p. 26 δεῖ δὴ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους κοινὸν καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ τὸ πράττειν ποιῆσαι.

δὲ οὕς—ἐστε, ‘to which above all else you owe your greatness.’

ἐπανέλθετε—στρατηγοῖς, ‘Recur to the actual circumstances under which the offences of the generals are thought to have been committed.’

εἰς τὴν γῆν, i.e. to the islets of Arginusae; cf. vi. 33.

ἐπὶ κέρως, ‘towards the wing,’ i.e. ‘in column’; cf. Thuc. II. 90 κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας. *Cyropaedia* VIII. v. 15 ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι ‘out of column into line.’

τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους, ‘the enemy acting against Mytilene,’ where the Athenian fleet was blockaded.

τὴν ταχίστην. Cf. vi. 37.

γενέσθαι, ‘were accomplished there and then.’ This must be the force of the aorist, if the text is sound, as I believe it to be. Most editors read ἀμφοτέρ' ἂν—γενέσθαι with Stephanus; cf. vi. 14.

ταῖς δὲ, sociative, ‘and with the rest’; cf. § 31 ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις—ἐπλεον.

30. δοξάντων τούτων, ‘if this seemed good’; cf. i. 36.

συμμορίας, each ‘division’ of the fleet, consisting of 15 ships, as described in vi. 29. Later the word became a technical one, ‘tax-company.’

δώδεκα οὐσῶν. In vi. 34 we learn that the number of ships lost was 25. Probably the 12 here mentioned are those which remained floating after the battle in a water-logged condition.

31. τῶν—τριηράρχων, partitive genitive, ‘among the trierarchs’; cf. § 35 εἶναι τούτων.

ἐπλεον. The imperfect here denotes an attempt, which, as we see from vi. 35, failed.

οὐκοῦν—κρίνεσθαι, ‘It is therefore right that those who were told off to attack the enemy should give an account of any failure in their

operations against the enemy, and that those who were ordered to pick up the crews from the wrecks, if they did not carry out the instructions of the generals, should be put on their trial (in order to explain) why they failed to do so.'

τὰ—πραχθέντα, accusative depending on ὑπέχειν λόγον, *constructio ad sensum*; cf. VII. v. 12 τὸ γενόμενον—τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι.

πρὸς τοῦτο, 'for this duty,' the reading of Hartman, better than the vulgate τούτους. The MSS. have τούτοις.

διότι. Cf. § 4 λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι....

32. τούτων—προσταχθέντα, 'To support this there are witnesses, men who had a miraculous escape, and among them one of our generals saved on a water-logged ship, who, though he then wanted picking up himself, they now demand should be tried by the same vote as those who did not carry out their instructions.' Note, however, that the words ἡπερ—προσταχθέντα are probably a gloss.

ὧν, supply ἐστίν.

εἰς, Lysias, as Diodorus tells us.

καταδύσης. See note on vi. 35.

33. ἀντὶ τῆς νίκης, 'in the face of the victory.'

ἀντὶ δὲ—ἀδυναμίας, 'And in the face of the visitations of Heaven do not incur the charge of hardheartedness by convicting men of treachery who were simply powerless.'

τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκάλων, i.e. the storm.

ἀγνώμονεῖν, 'to be inconsiderate, harsh, cruel'; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1266 θεῶν ἀγνωμοσύνην and O. C. 86 μὴ γένησθ' ἀγνώμονες.

πονηροῖς. Cf. note on iv. 13 μοχθηρότερα λεγόντων.

γεραίρειν, a poetical word, used also by Plato.

34. ἔγραψε γνώμην, 'drew up, i.e. proposed, a resolution.'

δίχα ἕκαστον, not in virtue of the decree of Cannonus, as has been pointed out above, but rather, as the order of the words here seems to shew, in opposition to the προβούλευμα which demanded that they should all be tried μιᾷ ψήφῳ.

τούτων, the two rival proposals, the προβούλευμα and Euryptolemus' amendment.

ἔκριναν, 'they carried,' lit. 'they chose'; cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 458 κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον.

ὑπομοσαμένον, 'having made an objection on oath.' 'The passage seems to mean that Menecles challenged the vote on some formal ground, which rendered it necessary for the ἐπιστάτης to put the question to the vote again. Ordinarily, however, a ὑπωμοσία meant

much more; it meant a determination in the mover of it to bring the question challenged under the cognizance of a court of law....But Xenophon never says a word about any such adjournment....We have therefore to suppose either that Menecles interposed a *ὑπωμοσία* of a kind not otherwise known, or that the neglect to carry into effect the adjournment that it entailed was merely one among the many unconstitutional incidents of the day'—UNDERHILL, *Introduction*, p. 45.

οἱ παρόντες ἔξ. Cf. § 2.

35. μετέμελε. Cf. Plato *Apology* 32 B *παρὰ νόμους ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε*. 'The conduct of the Athenians cannot be defended. The attitude of Socrates shews that they were *technically* in the wrong. On the merits of the case there is absolutely nothing to be said for them. Whether Athenian generals should pay the penalty of death for neglecting to rescue shipwrecked men, was for the Athenians to decide; they were at liberty to push their respect for religion as far as they liked. But there is no proof forthcoming for us that the generals neglected their duty and not Theramenes'—HOLM.

οὔτινες—ἐξηπάτησαν, 'inasmuch as they had deceived.'

προβολάς, 'plaints' laid before the Assembly, which, if it thought fit, directed that a public prosecution should be instituted; cf. Isocr. xv. 314 *προβολὰς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησαν* and Demosth. *Meidias* p. 517.

ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι, 'to cause that sureties (for their appearance) should be appointed.' Sureties were allowed to have the accused kept in confinement; see next sentence.

πrouβλήθησαν, 'were indicted by προβολή.'

τούτων, partitive genitive, 'one of those indicted'; cf. § 31 *τριηράρχων*.

Κλεοφῶν, the well-known demagogue: cf. *Introduction*, pp. xxv, xli and II. ii. 15.

ἀπέθανεν, by the Oligarchs in 404 B.C., a judicial murder; see *Lysias* xiii. 12.

οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, supply *κατήλθον*. Cf. II. iv. 39.

For the account of the trial of the generals in the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία see *Introduction*, p. xxiv.

BOOK II.

I.

'The victory of Arginusae gave for the time decisive mastery of the Asiatic seas to the Athenian fleet....Great as the victory was, we look in vain for any positive results accruing to Athens. After an unsuccessful attempt on Chios, the victorious fleet went to Samos, where it seems to have remained until the following year, without any farther movements than were necessary for the purpose of procuring money'—GROTE.

1. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ, i.e. the Peloponnesians.

'Ἐτεονίκου, who acted as admiral after the death of Callicratidas till the appointment of Aracus (§ 7).

θέρος, of the year 406 B.C.

τῆς ὥρας, 'the fruits of the season,' τῶν ὥραιων of Thuc. i. 120.

Cf. iv. 25 λαμβάνοντες ὀπώραν.

μισθοῦ, 'for hire,' genitive of price.

γυμνοί, 'poorly clad.'

τῇ Χίῳ, the Chian capital.

ἀλλήλους—ὀπόσοι εἴησαν. ἀλλήλους is 'anticipatory' accusative; cf. ii. 16.

2. σύνθημα, 'plot'; cf. v. iv. 6 ἦν δὲ σύνθημα παλεῖν. The ordinary meaning is 'watchword.'

ἀπόρων—πράγματι, 'was at a loss how to deal with the matter.'

σφαλερὸν—μή, 'dangerous, lest...', construction similar to that after words of *fearing*; cf. δεινὸν—μή below.

εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσωσι, 'rush to the arms,' i.e. the places where the arms were piled; cf. the phrases τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι and ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν προίεναι. 'The Greek heavy-armed soldiers wherever they halted on a march immediately piled their spears and shields, and did not resume them till the halt was over. When they encamped anywhere, an open space within the camp was selected for piling the arms, and this naturally served also as a sort of parade for the soldiers. In a time of siege when a large part of the population were on active military duty, their arms were kept constantly piled in some of the squares or open places in the town, that they might be ready on the first alarm'—ARNOLD on Thuc. ii. 2. Cf. notes on iii. 20, iv. 12.

συμμάχους, Peloponnesian allies engaged in the plot.

μή τινα—σχοῖεν, 'for fear that the Spartans should get a bad reputation with the rest of Greece.'

εἰς—"Ἕλληνας διαβολήν, 'a bad name reaching to the Greeks'; cf. III. v. 2 εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον. Thuc. iv. 22 μὴ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν. διαβάλλειν means (1) 'to set at variance,' (2) 'to speak ill of,' (3) 'to injure the credit of.'

σχοῖεν—ῶσιν. 'The subjunctive used for the optative makes the language more vivid by introducing more nearly the original form of thought. As the two forms are equally correct, we sometimes find both in the same sentence, e.g. Thuc. vi. 96 ἐξακοσίους λογάδας ἐξέκριναν ὅπως—εἴησαν φύλακες καὶ—παραγίγνωνται'—GOODWIN (*Moods and Tenses*, § 321), who points out that the common interpretation of such passages (by Arnold and others), viz. that the subjunctive indicates what is *immediate* and the optative what is more *remote*, could not apply to the passage from Thucydides.

πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, 'to the cause.'

3. ἀναλαβὼν δέ, answering to ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε above. Notice the number of participles in this sentence; they require some care in translation.

κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, 'about the city'; cf. § 1 κατὰ τὴν χώραν and I. i. 5 κατὰ τὴν ἥονα.

4. παραγγέλλειν—εἶχε, 'ordered this answer to be passed round: because he had the reed.'

κατὰ τὴν παραγγελίαν, 'agreeably to the answer.' κατὰ with accusative sometimes has much the same force as διὰ, e.g. κατὰ τί ἦλθες; 'why have you come?'

πάντες—ὁ ἀκούων, partitive apposition; cf. I. vii. 5 οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο.

αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων, 'every man who heard the news successively.' For αἰεὶ in the sense of 'from time to time' cf. I. ii. 10 τῷ βουλομένῳ αἰεὶ.

5. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, i.e. taking advantage of the panic.

τοῦ γεγενημένου, i.e. the conspiracy.

6. συλλεγόντες εἰς "Ἐφεσον, an assembly of the partisans of Lysander at Ephesus, the centre of his influence,—'the partisans in the various allied cities whose favour he had assiduously cultivated in his last year's command, the clubs and factious combinations which he had organised and stimulated into a partnership of mutual ambition. Discountenanced and kept down by the generous patriotism of his predecessor Callicratidas, they now sprang into renewed activity'—GROTE.

ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, 'to take over the fleet' as ναύαρχος, cf. I. i. 32.

εὖ φερόμενον, 'in high renown'; cf. I. v. 17 πονήρως φερόμενος. Thuc. v. 16 Νίκλας εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις.

κατὰ τὴν—ναυαρχίαν, 'during his previous period of office as admiral'; cf. Herod. vii. 137 κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

ἐν Νοτίῳ. Cf. I. v. 14.

ναυμαχίαν, cognate accusative; cf. I. vi. 37 and Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 34 ἡτύχησαν τὴν ναυμαχίαν.

7. ἐπιστολέα, 'secretary' or 'vice-admiral'; cf. I. i. 23.

ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον, who was to be admiral only in name; for, as Xenophon says below, the ships were to be at the disposal of Lysander. Cf. also Diod. xiii. 100 τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ιδιώτην αὐτῷ συνεξέπεμψαν, προστάξαντες ἀκούειν ἅπαντα τούτου.

δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν, made illegal because of the great power enjoyed by the ναύαρχος, whose authority was co-ordinate with that of the two kings. Its tenure was therefore limited to a year, and no one might hold it twice. Aristotle (*Politics* II. ix. 33) says that the ναυαρχία was σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία.

8. Δαρειαίου, another form of Δαρείου.

οὐ διέωσαν—μόνον, 'they did not thrust their hands through the sleeve, a mark of respect paid to the Great King only.' Cf. *Cyropaedia* VIII. iii. 10 διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδυῶν 'long-sleeved tunics.'

κόρης. The sleeves of the loose Persian tunic would ordinarily hang at the sides unused.

9. Ἰεραμένης, brother-in-law of Darius, mentioned in Thuc. viii. 58.

δεινὸν εἰ—τούτου, 'it was monstrous for him to tolerate the excessive insolence of Cyrus.'

εἰ περιόψεται, lit. 'if he means to overlook'; cf. I. vii. 12 δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μὴ τις ἑάσει. Arist. *Aves* 759 αἶρε πλῆκτρον εἰ μαχεῖ 'raise your spur, if you mean to fight.' 'The future, as an emphatic form, is especially common when the condition contains a strong appeal to the feelings or a threat or warning'—GOODWIN, *Moods and Tenses*, § 447.

10. τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, 405—404 B.C.

Ἀντάνδρῳ. Cf. I. i. 25.

11. ἔχοι, 'had been receiving already.'

12. οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί, Conon, Adeimantus and Philocles; cf. I. vii. 1.

πρὸς τὸ ναυτικόν, 'with a view to the fleet,' an awkward expression after παρεσκευάζοντο. Keller brackets πρὸς.

13. μετεπέμψατο, to come to Sardis.

τῆς Μηδίας, partitive genitive, 'in Media'; cf. I. i. 22 τῆς Καλχηδονίας Χρυσόπολιν.

Καδουσίων, a tribe on the west coast of the Caspian.

ἀφιστῶτας, causal use of the participle, 'because they had revolted.'

14. οὐκ εἶα, 'he forbade.' Out of this we must understand 'he said' with εἶναι γάρ.... Cf. I. vi. 2 and Thuc. v. 41 οὐκ ἐώντων μεμνήσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐτοίμοι εἶναι.

τούτου ἕνεκεν, 'as far as that (money) was concerned'; cf. Herod. iii. 122 εἵνεκεν χρημάτων.

παρέδειξε, 'handed over'; cf. iii. 8 οὓς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν.

τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα, 'the surplus' in his treasury, as opposed to the φόροι.

ὥς εἶχε φιλίας, lit. 'how he stood in respect of friendship'; cf. I. iv. 11 κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις ἔχει.

ἀνέβαινε. Contrast I. iv. 3 καταπέμψω Κύρον of Cyrus sent down to Sardis by the King who is at Susa.

15. τῆς Καρίας. Cf. § 13 τῆς Μηδίας and § 20 τῆς Χερρονήσου.

τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον, the Κεραμικὸς κόλπος of I. iv. 8.

ὄνομα Κεδρεῖαις, 'Cedreiae by name': cf. I. iv. 2.

τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. The mss. add προσβολῇ which seems to have been originally a marginal explanation of κατὰ κράτος 'by storm.'

αἰρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. For the historic present combined with an aorist cf. § 19 αἰροῦσι—καὶ διήρπασαν. Thuc. vii. 83 αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν. Plato *Phaedo* 84 D ἐγέλασε—καὶ φησι.

μιξοβάρβαροι, 'half barbarian, half Greek'; cf. Eurip. *Phoen.* 137. Cf. also the words μιξόθηρ 'half beast' and μιξολύδιος 'half Lydian.'

Xenophon does not mention that Lysander was at this time bold enough to cross the Aegean to Aegina and the coast of Attica, where he had an interview with Agis, who came from Deceliea (Diod. xiii. 104, Plutarch *Lysander* 9).

16. ἐκ—ὀρμώμενοι, 'making Samos their base'; cf. I. iv. 23 ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος.

τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι. See § 12.

προσείλοντο, as the Fleet had elected their own generals at Samos in 411 B.C. See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

17. πρὸς—τὸν ἔκπλουν, 'to keep an eye on the corn-ships sailing out' from the Euxine to Athens; cf. I. i. 35 πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα.

αὐτῶν, 'from them,' i.e. the Spartans represented by Lysander, *constructio ad sensum*.

πελάγιοι, 'over the open sea,' for the reason given in the next sentence. For this predicative use of the adjective cf. § 30 ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος.

19. σώματα, of 'persons' again in *Cyropaedia* VII. v. 73 τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

20. κατὰ πόδας, 'at their heels,' 'close behind them'; cf. Thuc. v. 64 ἵεναι κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐς Τεγέαν. The phrase ἐν ποσίν means 'close in front.'

21. διείχε, 'had a breadth of.' For the tense cf. *Anab.* iv. viii. 1 ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν δὲ ὥριξε. Thuc. i. 63 ἀπέειχε.

22. παραβλήματα, 'screens'; cf. I. vi. 19 παραρρύματα.

κινήσοιτο—ἀνάξοιτο. See note on I. i. 35 εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι. We have here the oblique form of the *jussive* use of the future, e.g. Arist. *Nubes* 1352 πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις.

23. ἐν μετώπῳ, 'in line,' opposed to ἐπὶ κέρως (I. vii. 29).

τῆς ἡμέρας, partitive genitive depending on ὀψέ, cf. Arist. *Aves* 1498 πηνίκ' ἐστι τῆς ἡμέρας; 'what o'clock is it?'

24. ἐξεβίβασεν, object 'his men'; cf. I. vi. 20.

25. τῶν τειχῶν, his castle to which he had retired; cf. I. v. 17.

μεθορμίσαι, object τὰς ναῦς.

οὗ ὄντες. Xenophon is fond of sudden transitions from *oratio obliqua* to *recta*; cf. I. i. 27.

26. αὐτοὶ—ἐκείνον. Cf. ii. 17 οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος—ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. Thuc. iv. 28 οὐκ ἔφη αὐτός, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν.

27. ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, dative of person concerned; cf. Thuc. iii. 29 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυῖα ἑπτὰ ὅτε κατέπλευσαν. Translate:—'when the Athenians had now for five days sailed against him,' i.e. to provoke him to an engagement.

τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένους, i.e. his scouts who were watching the movements of the Athenians; cf. § 24.

κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, 'along the shore of the Chersonese'; cf. § 3 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

καταφρονούντες δὴ, 'looking down forsooth on Lysander'; cf. iii. 13 and Thuc. iv. 67 ὅπως ἀφανῆς δὴ εἶη ἡ φυλακή.

τοῦμπαλιν, more usually εἰς τοῦμπαλιν. But cf. iv. iv. 13.

ἄραι ἀσπίδα. A brightly burnished shield would be a good signal. So the Alcmaeonidae were said to have signalled to the Persians; cf. Herod. vi. 115.

28. τὴν ταχίστην. Cf. I. vi. 37.

ἀνθρώπων. After this word most editions have ὄντων, which is only found in one good MS. and can hardly be right. But cf. I. ii. 2.

δίκροτοι—μονόκροτοι, 'with only two (or one) banks of rowers.' These words are derived from κροτέω 'I beat,' cf. Eurip. *I. T.* 408 δίκροτοι κῶπαι 'double-beating oars.' The three tiers of rowers in a trireme were called θρανῖται, ζευγῖται, and θαλάμιοι.

ἡ Πάραλος. The Paralus and Salaminia were the two state triremes of the Athenians, used primarily for the conveyance of sacred embassies, but also employed for other purposes, e.g. to carry despatches, to bring home state criminals, or, as here apparently, to serve as war-ships. The Paralus was originally so called because it was manned by Πάραλοι 'men belonging to the sea-coast of Attica.' Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvii.

τεichύδρια, 'small fortresses' (i.e. of Sestos), diminutive of τεῖχος. Diodorus says:—*εἰς Σηστόν διεσώθησαν* (xiii. 105). He adds that Sestos was captured directly after the battle.

29. ταῖς ἐννέα, the nine mentioned in § 28.

τὰ μέγιστα—ιστία, left on shore as usual before a battle; cf. I. i. 13. Conon takes them in order to impede Lysander's pursuit.

Εὐαγόραν, prince of Salamis in Cyprus; cf. Isocr. *Evagoras* 52 ὡς Εὐαγόραν ἦλθε νομίσας καὶ τῷ σώματι βεβαιωτάτην εἶναι τὴν παρ' ἐκείνῳ καταφυγὴν καὶ τῇ πόλει τάχιστ' ἂν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι βοηθόν.

'Never was a victory more complete in itself, more overwhelming in its consequences, or more disgraceful to the defeated generals taken collectively, than that of Aegospotami. Whether it was in reality very glorious to Lysander, is doubtful; for the general belief afterwards held that the Athenian fleet had been sold to perdition by the treason of some of its own commanders. Of such a suspicion both Conon and Philocles stand clear. Adeimantus was named as the chief traitor and Tydeus along with him. Conon even preferred an accusation against Adeimantus to this effect. The truth of the charge cannot be positively demonstrated; but all the circumstances of the battle tend to render it probable, as well as the fact that Conon alone among all the generals was found in a decent state of preparation'—GROTE.

30. τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. 'Of the number of prisoners taken by Lysander—which must have been very great, since the total crews of 180 triremes were not less than 36,000 men—we hear of only 3000 or 4000 native Athenians, though this number cannot represent all the native Athenians in the fleet'—GROTE.

For the number of the normal crew of a trireme see note on I. v. 5.

τριταῖος, adjectival predicate in an adverbial sense, 'on the third day'; cf. Hom. *Od.* xiv. 257 πεμπταῖοι ἰκόμεσθα. Cf. also § 17 ἀνήγοντο πελάγιοι.

31. τῶν Ἀθηναίων, objective genitive.

τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν. Plutarch (*Lysander* 9) says that Philocles the Athenian general had proposed to cut off the right thumbs of the prisoners, in order that, though not able to use a spear, they might be employed as rowers. Cf. Judges i. 5, 6.

32. ἐπελάβετο, 'attacked,' lit. 'laid hands upon'; cf. IV. ii. 22.

II.

1. κατεστήσατο, 'set in order' according to his own oligarchical ideas; cf. note on § 5.

Καλχηδόνα, which was in the hands of the Spartans in 409 B.C., must have been since recaptured by Athens.

οἱ—προδόντες. Cf. I. iii. 16.

ὕστερον δ', after the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C.

ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, 'were made Athenian citizens'; cf. I. vi. 4.

2. εἰδὼς ὅτι—ἔσεσθαι, mixture of two constructions; cf. VI. v. 42 ἐπλῖξεν δὲ χρὴ ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι. Thuc. iv. 37 γνοὺς ὅτι—διαφθαρησόμενους.

θάπτον. The insertion of *τοσοῦτω* to balance *ὅσω* is not necessary; cf. IV. ii. 11 and *Anab.* VII. vii. 28.

ἀρμοστήν Λάκωνα. Lysander's system of government of Greek cities by a Spartan Harmost and a native *δεκαρχία* or board of ten, consisting of his own partisans, now became general throughout the Hellenic world. The condition of Athens under the Thirty is a sample of what happened in many Greek cities under the Spartan empire.

3. οἰμωγή—διήκεν—παραγγέλλων, anacoluthon and partitive apposition combined.

ὁ ἕτερος—παραγγέλλων, 'one passing on the news to another,' as if *ῥῆμα* had preceded; cf. i. 4. Cf. also Thuc. v. 70 ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν—χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ... Soph. *Antig.* 259 λόγοι δ'—ἐρρόθουν κακοί, φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα.

οὐδεὶς—πενθοῦντες, *constructio ad sensum*; cf. I. iv. 13 ὄχλος—θανυμάζοντες.

οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους, 'the treatment they had dealt out to the Melians.' For the double accusative cf. § 10 ἃ ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους.

πολιορκία. Melos surrendered to Athens in 416 B.C. (Thuc. v. 116). The male inhabitants were put to death, and the women and children sold as slaves.

Ἰστιαίᾱς, ejected from their town Histiaea in Euboea in 446 B.C. (Thuc. i. 114).

Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους. Scione and Torone, towns in Chalcidice, were recovered by Athens in 421 B.C. At Scione all the men were slain and the town given to the Plataeans (Thuc. v. 32). At Torone the women and children were sold as slaves and the male population transported to Athens (Thuc. v. 3).

Αἰγινήτας, expelled from their island in 431 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 27).

5. κατεσκευάσατο, 'reconstructed the government' on his own system. The Lysandrian system based on

(1) the overwhelming dictatorship of Lysander himself,

(2) the government of the Spartan Harmost generally supported by a Spartan garrison,

(3) the native δεκαρχίαι or δεκαδάρχαι,

is well illustrated by the following passage from Plutarch *Lysander* 13 καταλύων δὲ τοὺς δήμους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, ἓνα μὲν ἀρμοστὴν ἐκάστη Λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπε, δέκα δὲ ἄρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων κατὰ πόλιν ἐταιριῶν ('the political clubs which he had drilled'). καὶ ταῦτα πράττων ὁμοίως ἔν τε ταῖς πολεμίαις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις γεγενημέναις πόλεσι, παρέπλει σχολαίως τρόπον τινὰ κατασκευαζόμενος ἑαυτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, 'the Thrace-ward towns,' on the northern coast of the Aegean, most of them belonging to the Athenian confederacy; cf. πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν below.

6. τῶν γνωρίμων, 'the notables,' i.e. the oligarchs, so used frequently in Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.*, e.g. 5 ἀντέστη τοῖς γνωρίμοις ὁ δῆμος. Cf. Plutarch *Nicias* 2 τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ γνωρίμους. The Samian oligarchs are called οἱ δυνατοί and οἱ γεωμόροι 'landowners' in Thuc. viii. 21.

σφαγὰς—ποιήσαντες, referring back to 412 B.C.; cf. Thuc. viii. 21.

7. ἔπεμψε—ὅτι, 'sent word that...'; cf. I. vii. 17 πέμπειν γράμματα ὅτι...

πλὴν Ἀργείων, allies of Athens since 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 47).

παραγγείλαντος. Cf. I. i. 27 τὰ αἰεὶ παραγγελλόμενα.

8. τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, a grove on the river Cephissus, called after the hero Academus. It contained a gymnasium where Plato taught; hence his school of philosophy was called 'the Academy.'

9. ἀπέδωκε, 'restored' their city, from which they had been expelled; cf. § 3.

ὄσους—πλείστους. Cf. Thuc. vii. 21 στρατιὰν ὅσῃν πλείστην εἶδύνατο.

τῆς αὐτῶν, supply γῆς, cf. I. i. 24 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

τὰ πλοῖα, 'corn ships'; cf. i. 17.

10. ἐνόμιζον—συνεμάχουν, 'They began to feel that they had no hope of escape, but that they must endure the evils which they had inflicted on others, not in retaliation, but out of pure insolence wronging the citizens of little states for no cause whatever except that they were the allies of the Spartans.'

εἰ μὴ παθεῖν. The MSS. reading, for which several emendations have been proposed, may be retained. 'They had no safety except to suffer' may be an equivalent for 'they had no safety, but must suffer.' Cf. St Matt. xxvi. 42 and Shakespeare, *King John* iv. i. 91.

ἐποίησαν. The sentence would certainly run better if ἐποίησαν were omitted. But this is not a sufficient reason for omitting the word, as Hartman would have us do.

ἃ ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους, double accusative; cf. § 3.

ἡδίκουν. The tense is idiomatic; see note on I. vii. 9.

μικροπολίτας. For instances cf. § 3.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ, emphatic form of ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ. Cf. iii. 39 οὐδὲ ἓν.

ἐκείνοις, 'those yonder,' well given by Dakyns:—'the very men now at their gates.'

11. τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες, 'having enfranchised those who had lost their civic rights.' Xenophon here only alludes to the elaborate measures to provide for the restoration of harmony and to enlist the services of all in the defence of Athens, especially the ψήφισμα of Patrocleides, which was a far-reaching amnesty. The decree is given at length in Andocides *de mysteriis* 76--80.

ἔχοντες, concessive, 'provided they might keep.'

12. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος, 'for he had not, he said, full powers himself.' See note on i. 14 εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα and cf. § 26.

13. Σελλασίᾳ, frontier town of Laconia.

πλησίον, probably the insertion of a scribe; for Sellasia was in Laconia.

ἔφοροι, lit. 'overseers,' a board of five, elected annually from all the

citizens. In early times they had not very great power; but they gradually became 'overseers' over the whole state, including the kings; e.g. they could even prosecute them before the Senate, and some of their body regularly accompanied a king on a military expedition. Cf. iv. 36.

αὐτῶν, ablatival genitive, 'from them.'

αὐτόθεν, 'on the spot,' 'at once.'

ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. The emphasis is on the participle, 'not to come again till they had agreed on some better proposals.' Cf. i. vii. 25.

15. ἐφ' οἷς—προκαλοῦντο, 'on the conditions proposed by the Spartans'; cf. § 11 ἐπὶ τούτοις and § 20 ἐφ' ᾧ.

τῶν μακρῶν—ἐκατέρου, lit. 'they proposed that they should demolish to the extent of ten stades of each of the Long Walls.'

τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν. 'Two Long Walls had already been built between Athens and the Peiraeus. But this was not sufficient for Pericles. The southern wall extended to the promontory of Phalerum and thus embraced the whole roadstead of that name. An enemy might land here and in that case they would be inside the Long Walls. Pericles constructed a wall parallel to and not far from the northern wall up to the northern point of the bay of Phalerum. The two walls were about 600 yards apart and could be defended by a small force. The old (Phalerum) south wall was then allowed to fall into ruins'—HOLM.

ἐγένετο, 'was passed'; cf. i. vi. 4.

ψήφισμα, proposed by Cleophon. The oligarchs took revenge on him for his opposition by judicial murder; cf. i. vii. 35 and Lysias xiii. 12.

16. τοιούτων ὄντων, '(things) being in such a state'; cf. iv. 29 and Thuc. i. 7 πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων 'when (things) became more nautical.' In *Anab.* ii. v. 12 we have the full phrase τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων.

παρὰ Δύσανδρον, now besieging Samos.

Λακεδαιμονίους, 'anticipatory' accusative; cf. i. i.

πίστεως ἕνεκα, 'to get a guarantee of good faith.'

ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε, 'looking out for (the time) when.'

ἐπιλελοιπέναι. This statement cannot be reconciled with § 11.

ἅπαντα ὅ τι, 'any proposals whatever'; cf. Arist. *Nubes* 348 γίνονται πάνθ' ὅ τι βούλονται.

17. κύριος—ἐφόρους. Cf. i. 26 αὐτοὶ—ἐκείνων.

ὦν, for ἐκείνων ἄ.

ἡρέθη πρεσβευτῆς εἰς. See note on I. i. 23 *ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας*.

δέκατος αὐτός, 'with nine others'; cf. Thuc. i. 116 *δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος*. iii. 3 *τρίτος αὐτός*. These phrases appear to be used of the most important person in a body.

18. μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων, idiomatic, 'with some Lacedaemonians *besides*'; cf. iv. 9 *ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας*. Soph. *Phil.* 38 *καὶ ταῦτά γ' ἄλλα θάλπεται ῥάκη* 'and here are rags besides drying in the sun.'

Ἀριστοτέλην, afterwards one of the Thirty; cf. II. iii. 13.

19. ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ, 'on what grounds'; cf. § 10 οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ.

ἀντέλεγον—ἐξαιρεῖν, 'urged that no terms should be made with the Athenians, but that they (i.e. their city) should be destroyed.'

ἐξαιρεῖν, 'wipe out'; cf. Thuc. iv. 122 *Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι*.

20. κινδύνους, i.e. of the Persian wars. Cf. Justin v. 7 *negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum eruturos*.

ἐποιοῦντο, 'were for making,' i.e. 'offered to make.'

ἐφ' ᾧ—ἐπεσθαι, 'on condition that they follow'; cf. iii. 11 *ἐφ' ᾧ τε συγγράφαι νόμους*. Plato *Apol.* 29 C *ἀφιεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηκέτι φιλοσοφεῖν*. But sometimes ἐφ' ᾧ and ἐφ' ᾧ τε take the future indicative, e.g. Thuc. i. 113 *σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται*.

τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας, 'having demolished the fortifications of the Peiraeus'; cf. Lysias xii. 40 *τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιεῖλον*.

καθέντας, 'having allowed to return' from exile; cf. § 23 *οἱ φυγάδες κατήσαν*.

21. ὄχλος—φοβούμενοι, *constructio ad sensum*; cf. I. iv. 13 *ὁ ὄχλος—θαυμάζοντες*.

22. ἐφ' οἷς—ποιοῦντο, 'the terms on which they offered to make peace'; cf. § 20 *ἐποιοῦντο*.

23. κατέπλει, on the 16th of Munychion (Plut. *Lysander* 15), i.e. in April, 404 B.C.

κατέσκαπτον, i.e. either (1) the Spartans or (2), according to Holm, Spartans and Athenians.

ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων, 'to the music of flute-girls.' For ὑπό with genitive denoting *accompaniment* cf. Thuc. v. 70 *χωροῦντες ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν*. Arist. *Ach.* 1001 *πίνειν ὑπὸ σάλπιγγος*. Aesch. *Agam.* 1553 *καταθάψομεν ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν*. For the whole scene cf. Plutarch *Lys.* 15 *πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ ἄστεος μετεπέμψατο αὐλητρίδας πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συναγαγών, τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τὸν*

αὐλόν, ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ παιζόντων ἅμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχουσιν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

ἄρχει τῆς ἐλευθερίας. So at the beginning of the war it was said:—ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει (Thuc. ii. 12).

24. ἐτυράννησε, 'became tyrant.' Cf. Romans xiii. 11 ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν 'when we became believers.'

ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα. Xenophon is careless about his Sicilian chronology; for this capture has been already noticed in I. v. 21.

III.

1. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, i.e. the year beginning with the spring of 404 B.C.

ἀναρχίαν. The year was not called after Pythodorus as ἀρχων ἐπάνυμος.

Xenophon omits the mention of two important events which took place before the appointment of the Thirty:—

(1) The appointment by the oligarchical clubs of five Ephors, so called as a compliment to the Spartans, to direct the general proceedings of the party. Critias and Eratosthenes were members of this body. See Lysias xii. 43.

(2) The seizure of the general Strombichides and other leading democrats. The oligarchs thought they were not strong enough to carry their projected changes in the face of resolute democratical leaders. See Lysias xiii. 38, xxx. 14.

2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. Cf. Aristotle Ἀθ. πολ. 34 'One of the terms of peace stipulated that the state should be governed according to the ancient constitution. Accordingly the popular party tried to preserve the democracy, while that part of the upper class which belonged to the political clubs (ἐταιρεῖαι), together with the exiles who had returned since the peace, desired an oligarchy, and those who were not members of any club...were anxious to restore the ancient constitution. The latter class included Archinus, Anytus, Cleitophon, Phormisius, and many others; but their most prominent leader was Theramenes. Lysander, however, threw his influence on the side of the oligarchical party, and the popular Assembly was compelled by sheer intimidation to pass a vote establishing the oligarchy. The motion to this effect was proposed by Dracontides of Aphidna' (Kenyon's Translation).

οἱ—συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι, 'to compile laws by

which they were to govern.' The future indicative with a relative may express a purpose like a final clause; cf. *Cynopaedeia* v. ii. 3 πέμψαι τινὰς οἵτινες ἀπαγγελλοῦσιν.

ἤρέθησαν οἶδε. Lysias (xii. 76) tells us that ten were nominated by Theramenes, ten by the five Ephors (see note on § 1), and ten by the people, all democratic opposition having now been crushed.

3. ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας, which he had occupied since 413 B.C.

ἐκάστους, 'the several detachments'; cf. I. i. 25.

4. ἡλίου ἐκλειψιν. This eclipse took place on September 3rd.

5. Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε, not a correct statement of the facts if Diodorus (xiii. 109 sqq.) is to be trusted. Further the events referred to appear to have taken place in 405 B.C.

6. οἱ Σάμιοι—ἐκαστος, partitive apposition; cf. § 23 and i. 4.

7. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις, i.e. the aristocrats driven out in 412 B.C. See Introduction, p. xxxii.

δέκα ἄρχοντας, a *decarchy*; see note on ii. 2.

φρουρεῖν, infinitive of purpose; cf. § 13 ἐλθεῖν, § 14 πεμφθῆναι.

ἀφῆκε. Cf. iv. 39 διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα. The overthrow of the Athenian empire was now complete.

8. ἃ περιεγένοντο. See note on I. i. 23.

παρέδειξεν, 'had assigned'; cf. i. 14.

9—10. εἰς δ—κατέπλευσεν, evidently the insertion of an interpolator. Cf. Thuc. v. 26 γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης ὡς ἐκαστα ἐγένετο—μέχρι οὗ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπανσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον. ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο ἐπτά καὶ εἴκοσι. The war ended six months after the surrender of Athens, i.e. with Lysander's return to Sparta after the reduction of Samos. So its total length was 27½ years, not 28½ as stated in the text.

11. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα. They were not called 'the Thirty Tyrants' till later. The first writer to employ the term is Diodorus. Notice that the Thirty at Athens answer to the *decarchies* set up by Lysander in other Greek towns.

ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράφαι. See note on ii. 20 and cf. iv. 38.

καθ' οὓστινας πολιτεύουσιντο. 'A future optative rarely occurs in a relative clause of purpose after a past tense. Here we have an indirect expression of the thought of those who chose the Thirty, of which the direct form is found in § 2 ἐλέσθαι οἱ συγγράφουσιν. Cf. Isaeus ii. 10 ἐσκόπει ὅπως μὴ ἔσοιτο ἅπαις. This use is closely akin to that in indirect discourse, as it always represents thought which was originally expressed

by the future indicative'—GOODWIN, *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 130, 134. Cf. also *Cyropaedia* VIII. i. 43 ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοι ἔσονται, his thought being ὅπως μήτε—ἔσονται. See note on I. i. 35.

τούτους—αὐτοῖς, 'these laws they were ever on the point of compiling and publishing, but a Council and the other magistracies they appointed according to their pleasure.' We can fill in the details from Lysias, Isocrates, and other sources. They appointed (1) a new βουλὴ composed of compliant oligarchs, including many of the returned exiles who had been formerly in the Four Hundred and many members of the late βουλὴ who were willing to serve their designs; (2) a board of Ten to govern the Peiraeus, a hot-bed of democratic agitation; cf. iv. 19; (3) a new board of Eleven to manage police business, with the blood-thirsty Satyrus at their head; (4) a body of 300 μαστιγοφόροι 'scourge-bearers,' mentioned by Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 35; (5) an ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος to give his name to the year, Pythodorus; (6) an ἄρχων βασιλεύς to offer the usual sacrifices, Patrocles.

12. ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, 'under the democracy.'

ἀπὸ—ζῶντας. Cf. i. 1 ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο.

συκοφαντίας, the trade of the professional accuser, who hoped to gain distinction by a threatened prosecution, or at least to extort a bribe from his victim. The younger democrats often adopted this method of rising to fame; they would prosecute magistrates or suspected oligarchs.

τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς, the oligarchical party; cf. § 15 and Cicero's use of *boni* in a political sense. Contrast § 13 τοῖς πονηροῖς. 'A third class of names points to the contrast with respect to birth and culture. The oligarchs assumed the title of καλοὶ καγαθοί, βέλτιστοι and above all of χρηστοί, while the democrats were styled πονηροί, μοχθηροί, and the like'—WHIBLEY, *Parties in Athens*, p. 48.

ὑπήγον θανάτου. Cf. I. iii. 19.

ἢ τε βουλὴ—κατεψηφίζετο. The βουλὴ was now practically the only judicial body. The judicial functions of the Ecclesia and the δικαστήρια had been suspended; cf. Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 35 τὸ κύρος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν. It is uncertain whether the court of Areopagus was suspended by the Thirty. But practically its authority was superseded during the Reign of Terror.

συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς—ὄντες. Cf. iv. 17 ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται ὢν and contrast the other construction exemplified in Plato *Ἀπολ.* 22 D ἑμαυτῷ συνήδειν οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ.

οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. The proceedings of the Thirty were at first generally

approved of. Even Plato the philosopher was deceived by their fair promises. But their moderation was short-lived. Cf. Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 35 'They destroyed the professional accusers and those mischievous and evil-minded persons who, to the great detriment of the democracy, had attached themselves to it in order to curry favour with it. With all of this the city was much pleased and thought that the Thirty did it with the best of motives. But so soon as they had got a firmer hold on the city, they spared no class of citizens' (Kenyon's Translation).

13. Αἰσχίνην—Ἀριστοτέλην, members of the Thirty; see § 2.

φρουροὺς—ἐλθεῖν, 'to support them in obtaining a Spartan garrison.'

ἐλθεῖν, infinitive of purpose; cf. § 7 φρουρεῖν and § 14 πεμφθῆναι.

ἕως δῆ. For the ironical δῆ cf. § 18 and i. 28, iv. 41.

14. φρουροὺς—ἀρμοστήν. Athens is now completely dominated by the Lysandrian system:—(1) the all-powerful presence of Lysander himself when required, (2) the native oligarchy, (3) the Spartan Harmost and Spartan garrison. Cf. note on ii. 2. The text of Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 37, as it stands in the papyrus, puts the arrival of Callibius and the Spartan garrison considerably later. Dr Sandys and others hold that there has been some dislocation of the text.

τῶν φρουρῶν, partitive genitive; cf. *Cyropaedia* II. iv. 18 ἤτει τῶν νεωτέρων, Thuc. iv. 80 τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐκπέμψαι.

ἀλλ' ἤδη—λαμβάνειν, 'but they were now emboldened to seize those whom they thought were least content to be set aside and who if they attempted any opposition would find well-wishers in the greatest numbers.' Unnecessary difficulty has been raised about an alleged omission of *ἄν* with *ἀνέχεσθαι*. The first clause states an existing fact and so does not require *ἄν*; the second is conditional, *ἀντιπράττειν—ἐπιχειροῦντας* forming the protasis. Of course it is easy to insert *ἄν* before *ἀνέχεσθαι* as Schäfer does, but it is quite unnecessary.

πλείστοις, predicative.

15. ὁ Κριτίας. 'His family, the Medontidae, belonged to the liberal party, to which he also had devoted his energies. His conduct after the establishment of the Thirty must be explained by the fact that he was a renegade, and, as people of this kind usually do, now championed his new convictions with all the more violence. His command of all the resources of the culture of the age materially facilitated his task'—HOLM.

ἐπεὶ δέ. There is no apodosis to this sentence. The sentence is begun afresh in § 17.

φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. See note on i. i. 27.

ἀντέκοπτε, lit. 'beat back,' i.e. 'thwarted'; cf. § 31 and the similar metaphorical use of **ἀντικρούω**.

τοὺς—κακὸν ἐργάζετο. For the double accusative cf. § 33.

ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ. For the transition to *oratio recta* cf. §§ 16, 19 and I. i. 28.

16. ὁ δὲ—εὐήθης εἶ, Critias, who was still intimate with Theramenes, replied that it was impossible for those who aimed at aggrandisement to refrain from putting out of the way those who were most capable of thwarting them. But (he continued) if you believe that just because we are thirty and not one we ought to be one whit less careful of this authority of ours than if it were an actual tyranny, you must be simple-minded indeed.'

ἢ ὥσπερ. The *ἢ* which is not in the MSS. was rightly added by G. Hermann.

17. καὶ ἀδίκως, 'unjustly too.' Cobet omits *καὶ* without sufficient reason.

ἔσοιτο—λήψοιτο. For the future optative see note on I. i. 35 and several instances in §§ 39, 40, 42 of this chapter.

εἰ μὴ—πραγμάτων, 'unless they took to themselves a sufficient number of associates in the government.'

18. οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, not strictly accurate, but quite natural; for *οἱ τριάκοντα* is virtually a proper name. Cf. III. iv. 8 *οἱ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα οὐκ ἐσίγων*.

συρρυνείσαν, lit. 'flow together,' i.e. 'rally round'; cf. Herod. viii. 42.

καταλέγουσι, 'make a list of.' The word is used especially of enlisting soldiers, e.g. I. iv. 21.

τρισχιλούς. Cf. the Five Thousand in 411 B.C. See Introduction, p. xxxv.

τοὺς μετέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. We have an exact parallel in Thuc. viii. 65 *οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλούς*. The ironical *δὴ* marks the proceeding as a sham; cf. § 13.

19. ὅτι ἄτοπον—γενέσθαι, 'that to him for one it seemed absurd that first of all in their desire to associate with them the best men in the state they should take just three thousand, as if that number carried with it the necessity that those selected should be good men and true and as if there could be no respectable persons outside and no scoundrels inside this charmed circle.'

κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι. These words do double duty; for they must be taken both with *ἄτοπον εἶναι* and with *βουλομένους*. This small

difficulty is not sufficient to justify Hartman and Keller in inserting *καταλέξαι* after *τρισχιλίους*. Cf. the ellipse of *αἰτιάσασθαι* in I. vii. 6.

ὥσπερ—ἔχοντα, accusative absolute, generally used in the case of impersonal participles only: e.g. § 21 *ὥς ἐξόν*, § 42 *ἐξόν*, § 35 *προσταχθέν*, § 51 *συνδοκοῦν*. But 'even the participles of personal verbs sometimes stand with their nouns in the accusative absolute if they are preceded by *ὥς* or *ὥσπερ*, e.g. *Memorabilia* II. iii. 3 *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀμελοῦσιν*, *ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γιγνομένους φίλους*, *ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὐ γιγνομένους*. The *ὥς* or *ὥσπερ* shows that what is stated in the participle is stated as the thought of the subject of the leading verb, without implying that it is also the thought of the writer'—GOODWIN, *Moods and Tenses*, § 853.

ὥσπερ—οἶόν τε εἴη, a blending of two constructions. The sentence ends as if *ὥσπερ εἰ* had preceded; cf. I. ii. 15.

βιαίαν—κατασκευαζομένους, 'setting up a government based on force and at the same time at the mercy of the governed.'

The account of the criticisms of Theramenes on the conduct of the Thirty given in Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 36 illustrates and supports Xenophon's narrative:—'Theramenes seeing the city then falling into ruin was displeased with their proceedings, and counselled them to cease such unprincipled conduct and let the better classes have a share in the government. At first they opposed his suggestions, but when his proposals came to be known abroad and the masses began to be on friendly terms with him, they were seized with alarm lest he should make himself a popular leader (*προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*) and destroy their despotic power. Accordingly they drew up a list of 3000 citizens to whom they proposed to give a share in the constitution. Theramenes, however, criticised this scheme also, (1) on the ground that, while proposing to give all the respectable classes a share in the constitution, they were actually giving it only to 3000 persons, as if all the merit were confined within that number; and (2) because they were doing two inconsistent things, since they made the government rest on the basis of force and yet made the governors inferior in strength to the governed. However they took no notice of his criticisms, and for a long time they put off the publication of the list of the 3000' (Kenyon's Translation).

20. *οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν—ναῶ*. The interpretation of this passage is very uncertain. Grote's explanation seems to be the best:—'They proclaimed a general muster and examination of arms to all the hoplites in Athens. The 3000 were drawn up in arms in the Agora; the rest in small scattered companies and in different places. After the review was

over, these scattered companies went home to their meal, leaving their arms piled at the various places of muster. But adherents of the Thirty, having been forewarned and kept together, were sent along with the Lacedaemonian mercenaries to seize the deserted arms, which were deposited under the custody of Callibius in the Acropolis.'

κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. These words are difficult. They probably mean 'having ordered them to arms,' an interpretation supported by *Anab.* I. v. 13 παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα. The object of *κελεύσαντες* would seem to be τοὺς φρουροὺς κ.τ.λ.,—'having previously ordered them to arms'; cf. Grote's explanation quoted above. Cobet would cut the knot by reading θέσθαι for ἐπὶ, cf. notes on i. 2 and iv. 12.

ἐκεῖνοι, i.e. οἱ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου, all except the 3000.

τῷ ναῷ, the Parthenon.

21. χρήματα δίδοναι, to pay the Spartan garrison as they had promised (§ 13).

τῶν μετοίκων—λαβεῖν, 'that the Thirty should each of them seize one of the resident aliens, put them to death and confiscate their property.' This is well illustrated by the orator Lysias, who tells us (xii. 81 sqq.) how he and his brother Polemarchus, both of them μέτοικοι and owners of a large shield manufactory, suffered from these proceedings. Lysias was arrested by two of the Thirty, Theognis and Peison, but afterwards escaped by the back door of the house to which he was taken. His brother was seized by Eratosthenes, also one of the Thirty, and forced to drink the fatal hemlock without trial. Their factory and houses were then plundered. The booty consisted of 120 slaves, 700 shields, workshop, houses and valuable effects.

ἀποσημήνασθαι, lit. 'to seal up' as confiscated goods; cf. iv. 13.

22. λαμβάνοιεν, optative of frequency; cf. i. 1 οἷς—ἀρέσκοι.

τῷ παντί, not 'in every respect,' but an instrumental dative of measure, 'by everything,' i.e. 'altogether more unjust'; cf. III. v. 14, VI. i. 7, VII. v. 12, where the same phrase is used with a comparative.

23. τοὺς βουλευτάς, 'the members of the βουλή,' who now have judicial power; cf. § 11.

ἄλλος—διέβαλλον, partitive apposition; cf. § 6. Translate:—'They denounced their victims, here one and there another, to individual members of the Council.'

ὑπὸ μάλῃς, 'under the arm-pit,' the ordinary way of concealing daggers; cf. Plato *Gorgias* 469 D λαβὼν ὑπὸ μάλῃς ἐγχειρίδιον and metaphorically Demosth. p. 848 οὐδ' ὑπὸ μάλῃς ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ.

παραγενέσθαι, 'to be in readiness' outside the Council-chamber.

συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλὴν. The Thirty have taken the place of the *πρυτάνεις*. Cf. Lysias xiii. 37 οἱ τριάκοντα ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται. Lysias goes on to describe the method of voting in judicial proceedings introduced by the Thirty in order to intimidate the members of the βουλὴ. Two tables were set before the Thirty, on which the voting-pebbles had to be placed openly, not dropped into urns as was the custom in Athenian courts.

24. πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ, 'more than the occasion demands,' Latin *iusto plures*. Cf. v. iii. 5 τοῦ καιροῦ ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους.

τοῖς—μεθιστάσι, 'those who are transforming (the state) into an oligarchy'; cf. § 30 τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους.

πολυανθρωποτάτην, in spite of very great losses during the war. Beloch gives the following approximate statistics of the population of Attica at the beginning and end of the war:—

	Beginning of the war.	End of the war.
Citizens	35,000	20,000
μέτοικοι	10,000	5,000
Slaves	100,000	65,000

25. γνόντες μὲν—γνόντες δέ, *anaphora*, a favourite trick of style with Xenophon; cf. § 28 αὐτὸς μὲν—αὐτὸς δέ, § 29 τοσοῦτῳ μὲν—τοσοῦτῳ δέ, § 32 πλείστοις μὲν—πλείστοις δέ.

τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν, by attraction for τοιοῦτοις οἷοι ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσμέν. Cf. § 51 and I. iv. 16.

ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν, i.e. the Thirty and the βουλὴ. So again in §§ 27, 28, 29.

εἶναι. The infinitive, not the participle, is used, because in the first clause γνόντες means 'having decided.' The second γνόντες means 'knowing' and so takes ὅτι. Cf. III. ii. 21 γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι. For γιγνώσκω in the sense of 'think,' 'decide,' etc. cf. §§ 27, 34, 38 and I. v. 3 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνώκηναι.

δῆμος, 'democracy,' not 'people.'

βέλτιστοι, in a political sense; cf. § 32 and note on I. iv. 13.

26. εἰς—αἰσθανώμεθα, general condition. }

εἴ τις—λυμαίνεται, special condition. }

τις would naturally be the subject of a general condition, but here it refers definitely to Theramenes. For this sinister use of τις referring to a particular person cf. Arist. *Ranae* 552 κακὸν ἥκει τινί—δώσει τις δίκην.

λυμαίνεται—καταστάσει, 'is doing mischief to this constitution of ours.' For the dative cf. VII. v. 18 λελυμασμένος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ δόξῃ.

Contrast § 23 λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν and § 51 τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον.

27. Θηραμένην τουτονί. The omission of the article need cause no difficulty, since οὗτος is used δεικτικῶς, 'Theramenes *here*.' Cf. *Anab.* III. v. 9 πολλὰ δ' ὁρῶ πρόβατα ταῦτα 'I see many sheep *here*.' Thuc. i. 51 νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσι 'there are ships sailing up *yonder*.'

οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα, 'trying to ruin by all means in his power.'

ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, '(as a proof) that this is true'; cf. § 33 ὥς δὲ εἰκότα ποιούμεν.

εἰ μὲν—ἐνομίζετο, 'If then he had held these views from the first, though he was our enemy, still a scoundrel he would not justly have been thought.'

πολέμιος μὲν ἦν. The ἦν is certainly not for ἂν ἦν. For (1) according to Critias, Theramenes always was and still is an enemy, and (2) this clause is really subordinate in thought to the next one,—a good example of *parataxis*.

οὐ μέντοι—γε often answers to μὲν, when the second clause is negative.

28. νῦν δέ, 'But as it is'; cf. iv. 16.

ἄρξας—ἐξορμήσας—αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει, a good instance of *anacoluthon*; cf. *Cyropaedia* VII. v. 37 ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κῦρος—ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ. The particles are concessive, 'though he began,' 'though he stirred up.'

ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς, 'brought before you' the βουλὴ as a judicial body.

οὐκέτ'—πεπραγμένων, 'he is no longer pleased with our proceedings, his object being to establish himself once more in safety, while we pay the penalty for our past actions.'

29. δεινότερον προδοσία, 'treason is a more dangerous thing'; cf. *Anab.* II. v. 9 φοβερώτατόν (ἐστίν) ἐρημία. Virg. *Ecl.* iii. *So tristis lupus stabulis.*

ὅσῳ πολεμίους. Grammatically μᾶλλον must be supplied from the neighbouring comparatives; cf. *Cyropaedia* VI. ii. 19 τοσοῦτῳ Σύρων κακίων ἐγένετο, ὅσῳ Σύροι ἔφυγον. But the sense is given perfectly well by translating ὅσῳ 'inasmuch as' without introducing a comparative.

ἄνθρωποι. So the mss. rightly. Keller prints ἄνθρωποι after Cobet.

λαμβάνωσι. This sequence is justified by the special use of ἐσπεύσατο and ἐπίστευσε explained in the next note.

τούτῳ—λοιποῦ, 'with a traitor no one has ever yet come to terms nor trusted him for the future.' Aorists joined with οὕτω, ἤδη or πολλάκις must be translated as perfects; cf. Plato *Critias* 108 c

ἀθυμοῦντες ἄνδρες οὐπω τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. Soph. *Ajax* 1142 ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον 'I have seen ere now.'

τοῦ λοιποῦ, genitive of time *within which*; cf. Soph. *Electra* 478 μέτεισιν οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου.

30. καινά, a predicate:—'these proceedings of his are nothing new; he is a born traitor.'

ὑμᾶς—πεπραγμένα. For the double accusative after ἀναμνήσκω cf. *Anal.* III. ii. 11 ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τοὺς κινδύνους.

τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. For the facts which follow see Introduction, pp. xxxv. sqq.

κατὰ τὸν πατέρα, lit. 'according to his father,' i.e. 'following his father's example'; cf. Plato *Apol.* 17 B οὐ κατὰ τούτους ῥήτωρ.

"Αγωνα. See Introduction, p. xxix.

ἀντίπαλόν τι—συνιστάμενον, 'the gathering of a little opposition,' i.e. of the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος at Samos; cf. § 42. See Introduction, p. xxxvii.

κόθορνος, a sort of closed boot (in opposition to sandals) which was worn by women and could fit either foot. It had rectangular soles. The application of the word to the opportunist Theramenes is illustrated by the Greek proverb εὐμεταβολώτερος κοθόρνον 'more changeable than a reversible boot.' On the character of Theramenes see Introduction, pp. xxiv, xxxvi.

ἐπικαλεῖται, lit. 'is called besides,' i.e. 'is nicknamed'; cf. *Memorabilia* I. iv. 2 Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον.

31. ἀπολέπει, the brilliant emendation of Dr Postgate for the meaningless ἀποβλέπει of the MSS. He writes thus in the *Classical Review*, vol. XI. p. 22:—'The sentence καὶ γὰρ—ἀμφοτέρων is generally condemned as spurious. But why any one should have written anything so meaningless as its second half no one has vouchsafed to explain. Critias is making it his business to show that Theramenes has earned his nickname of 'reversible boot.' That boot and statesman shift their place from side to side is an obvious point of resemblance; but there is a less obvious one. It is given in § 32 σὺ δὲ—βελτιόνων. What is analogous to this in the conduct of the 'reversible boot'? Obviously that *it takes the skin off both feet*, ἀπολέπει ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. Cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 237 (where it has been corrupted to ἀποθλίψειν) μᾶστιγί τ' εὖ τὸ νῶτον ἀπολέψειν σέθεν.'

δεῖ δέ—πλέοιεν, 'But, Theramenes, a man who deserves to live ought not to be clever in leading on his comrades into trouble and then, if any opposition is offered, at once change his front, but, as if he were on

board ship, he must strain every nerve till they are sailing before a fair wind. Else how could they ever reach their destination if on any adverse circumstance they at once sailed in the opposite direction?’

πράγματα, ‘trouble’; cf. iv. 27 πράγματα παρείχε.

ἀντικόπτη. Cf. § 15.

εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν, lit. ‘settle down into a fair wind.’ Cf. Aristotle *mechanica* 8 προάγει τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς οὖριον δὲ καθίστησι τὸ πηδάλιον. Hartman’s ὄρμον is an obvious, but feeble emendation.

εἰ δὲ μή, developed and explained in the protasis which follows, εἰ—πλέοιεν.

32. πλείστοις—ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ‘very many members of the oligarchy.’

βελτιόνων. Cf. § 25 οἱ βέλτιστοι.

τοι, ‘you know,’ ‘surely’; cf. iv. 13.

τοὺς καταδύντας, ‘the crews of the water-logged ships.’ See note on I. vi. 35.

περὶ Λέσβον, i.e. at Arginusae. The battle is described in I. vi. 29—38.

ἀπέκτεινεν, ‘procured their execution.’

ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ. This accusation seems to be quite just; see notes on I. vii. 5 and 35.

33. γε μὴν, ‘however’; cf. iii. 42 and § 37 γε μέντοι.

τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ—ἐντροπόμενος, ‘paying no heed to honour or to friendship,’ lit. ‘turning towards.’ For the genitive cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1226 ἐντρέπεσθε δωμάτων.

φυλάξασθαι. Supply *χρῆ* from the previous sentence. —

εἰδότας, agreeing with ἡμᾶς understood.

ἡμᾶς ταῦτό—ποιῆσαι. For the double accusative cf. § 15.

δυνασθῇ. Xenophon prefers ἐδινάσθην to ἐδυνήθην.

ὥς δὲ—ποιούμεν, ‘(as a proof) that we are acting reasonably’; cf. § 27.

34. εἰ δὲ ἐκείνη—πραττομένοις, ‘But if one of the ephors were to attack that constitution instead of giving way to the majority (of his colleagues), if he were to attempt to find fault with the government and obstruct its proceedings.’

ἐπιχειρήσειε does double duty; (1) it governs ἐκείνη in the sense of ‘make an attempt upon,’ (2) it governs the infinitives in the sense of ‘attempt.’ This is an undoubtedly harsh zeugma, but not so harsh as Eur. *I. T.* 279

ἔδοξε δ’ ἡμῶν εὖ λέγειν τοῖς πλεοσι

θηρᾶν τε τῇ θεῷ σφάγια τὰ πικύρια,

where ἔδοξε means (1) 'he seemed,' (2) 'it seemed good.' To get over the difficulty some would read ἐν ἐκείνῃ and others ἐκεῖ.

ἐφόρων. See note on ii. 13.

οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε. The ἂν goes with ἀξιωθῆναι,—‘don't you think he would be thought deserving?’ Cf. § 37 οἶομαι ἂν—κρίνειν.

τῶν ἐναντία γιγνώσκόντων, ‘whose political opinions are opposed to ours.’ For this use of γιγνώσκω cf. § 25 γνόντες and § 38 ταῦτὰ ἐγινώσκομεν.

τῶν ἔξω, the banished democrats.

35. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον. This contradicts Xenophon's statement in I. vii. 4.

προσταχθέν μοι, ‘though orders had been given me,’ accusative absolute; see note on § 19. Cf. § 51 συνδοκοῦν and Plato *leges* 902 D προσταταγμένον.

μὴ ὅτι, for μὴ εἶπω ὅτι ‘not to say that,’ i.e. ‘much less’; cf. *Symposium* ii. 26 οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν μὴ ὅτι λέγειν τι δυνησόμεθα.

τῇ πόλει, i.e. the citizens in the ἐκκλησία.

προέμενοι—ἀπολέσθαι, ‘having abandoned them to destruction,’ a noteworthy use of the infinitive, which was originally the dative of a verbal noun. Cf. the Homeric phrases προέηκε πυθέσθαι, πέμπε νέεσθαι, δὸς ἄγειν.

36. παρακηκοέναι, an excellent emendation (for the pointless παρανενομηκέναι of the mss.) made by Wytttenbach and supported by Hartman. The meaning is:—‘I am not surprised that Critias has been misinformed (lit. ‘heard wrong’) about the trial; for he was away from Athens at the time,’—a fine piece of irony. For this meaning of παρακούω cf. Plato *Prot.* 330 E.

ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ. The irony is continued and heightened. ‘Critias was away in Thessaly playing the democrat and’ (he leaves it to be inferred) ‘he is therefore as bad a turncoat as he alleges me to be’; cf. § 30. See also *Memorabilia* I. ii. 24 Κριτίας φηγὼν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐκεῖ συνὴν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνην χρωμένοις.

πενέστας ‘serfs,’ answering to the Helots in Laconia. Cf. Arist. *Vesprae* 1273 τοῖς πενέσταισι ξυνὴν τοῖς Θεττάλων.

37. ὦν—γένοιτο, ‘Heaven forbid that any of his proceedings in Thessaly be repeated here in Athens.’

δίκαιον εἶναι—τυγχάνειν, ‘that he deserves to meet with’; cf. Demosth. p. 74 δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπολωλέναι.

τῆς μεγίστης, emphatic by position.

ὅστις—κατανοήσετε, ‘who it is who acts thus you would, I believe,

best decide by examining the past and present conduct of each of us.'

οἶμαι ἄν—κρίνειν, not a solecism as Hartman thinks; cf. § 34.

38. οὐκοῦν—ἐγγνώσκομεν, 'well then, up to the time when you entered on your membership of the Council, when magistrates were appointed, and when notorious informers were brought to trial, we all held the same views.'

ὁμολογουμένως. Cf. VII. iii. 7 τῶν φανερώς προδοτῶν. Plutarch *Timoleon* 1 τῶν ὁμολογουμένως τυράννων.

δέ γε, 'Yes, but...'; cf. § 46.

39. ἀποθνήσκοντος, 'was being put to death'; cf. below συλλαμβανομένον 'when he was being arrested' and § 40 ἀπολλυμένον.

Λέοντος. Cf. Plato *Apol.* 32 C, where Socrates is represented as saying:—'When the oligarchy of the Thirty was in power, they sent for me and four others into the Rotunda and bade us bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis, as they wanted to execute him. That was a specimen of the sort of commands which they were always giving with the view of implicating as many as possible in their crimes; and then I shewed that I cared not a straw for death.... When we came out of the Rotunda, the other four went to Salamis and fetched Leon; but I went quietly home. For which I might have lost my life, had not the power of the Thirty shortly afterwards come to an end' (Jowett's Translation).

ἀδικοῦντος. See note on I. vii. 9.

οὐδὲ ἓν, 'in no single point'; cf. ii. 10.

τοῦ Νικίου, 'the son of Nicias,' the Athenian general.

οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικόν, thus following his father's example. 'After the death of Pericles, when political struggles were renewed and party divisions again became prominent, we find the opposition to the democratic party organized under the leadership of Nicias.... Nicias' attitude was one of monotonous opposition to the democratic proposals'—WHIBLEY, *Parties in Athens*, pp. 38, 98.

40. Ἀντιφώντος, not the orator, who was executed in 411 B.C. Cf. Thuc. viii. 68. This Antiphon may be the sophist mentioned in *Memorabilia* I. vi. 1.

τῶν μετοίκων—λαβεῖν. Cf. § 21.

οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες. On their large numbers see note on § 24.

41. τὸ ὄπλα—παρηροῦντο. Cf. § 20.

οὐδὲ γὰρ—ώφελεῖν, 'For I saw that not even the Lacedaemonians wished to preserve us with this object, viz. that we might be reduced in

numbers and unable to assist them.' Doubtless the Spartans spared Athens on grounds of policy, though they gave other reasons; cf. II. ii. 20.

ἐξῆν—λιπεῖν, 'For it was open to them, if *this* was their object, not to leave a man of us.'

ἐξῆν—μηδένα λιπεῖν. For the construction cf. Demosth. p. 538 οἱ μὴ βαδίζειν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ 'where he need not have gone.'

γ' ἐδέοντο, Cobet's necessary correction for γε δέουντο of the MSS., a change involving the omission of one letter only.

καὶ μηδένα, 'even no one,' 'no one at all.'

42. οὐδέ γε—κρατήσιν, 'No, nor did I agree with the hiring of a Spartan garrison, when it was open to us to take into our service a sufficient number of Athenian citizens, until we the rulers were likely easily to control those we meant to rule.'

ἐξόν. See note on § 19.

ἕως—ἐμέλλομεν. 'When a clause with ἕως 'until' refers to a result which was *not attained* in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of a condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative: e.g. Plato *Gorgias* 506 B ἡδέως ἂν διελεγόμην, ἕως ἀπέδωκα'—GOODWIN, *Moods and Tenses*, § 613. This construction is analogous to that exemplified in *Anab.* VII. vi. 23 ἔδει—λαβεῖν, ὥς μὴδ' εἰ ἐβούλετο ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν, a purpose not attained owing to the non-fulfilment of a condition.

"Ανυτον, a leading democrat, afterwards one of the accusers of Socrates.

Ἀλκιβιάδην, put to death by order of Pharnabazus to oblige Lysander and Critias; see Plutarch *Alcibiades* 38 sqq.

τὸ ἀντίπαλον, 'the opposition'; cf. § 30 ἀντίπαλόν τι.

43. προδότης, referring to the charge of treason brought by Critias in § 33.

44. πότερον—πράττουσιν, 'Which do you think the exiles would prefer? Would they like the state of things, which I represent as desirable, to be realised here in Athens, or that which the Thirty are now producing?'

ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, '(Doubtless they would prefer the latter), for I believe...'

χαλεπὸν—χώρας, '(I believe) the exiles would think it difficult even to get a foothold anywhere in Attica.'

τῆς χώρας, partitive genitive depending on ποι. Cf. iv. 27 and I. v. 20.

45. ἄδ' αὖ εἶπεν, 'Again, as to his statements...' Cf. VI. iii. 12

ἀ δὲ διαβάλλουσι—ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦσι and the Ciceronian *quod scribis* ‘as to the statement in your letter.’

οἶος—μεταβάλλεσθαι, lit. ‘such an one as to be always changing sides’; cf. *Anab.* II. iii. 13 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδὶον ἔρδειν ‘it was not the proper season to irrigate the land.’ *Cyropaedia* I. ii. 3 τοιοῦτοι οἶοι πονηροῦ τινὸς ἔργου ἐφίεσθαι.

ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, ‘at the time of the Four Hundred’; cf. Thuc. vi. 6 ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου.

ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, referring to the first vote of the Assembly on the subject; see Introduction, p. xxxvi.

46. δέ γε. Cf. § 38.

οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, ‘did not relax their efforts at all’ in carrying on the war.

οἱ δὲ—στρατηγοῦντες, ‘Aristoteles, Melanthius and Aristarchus with their colleagues in the generalship.’ Cf. iv. 7 and I. vii. 8. Hartman would omit στρατηγοῦντες, but we have an exact parallel in Plutarch *Pelopidas* 7 τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον πολεμαρχούντων.

τῷ χώματι, i.e. Eëtioneia; see Introduction, p. xxxix.

τοῖς ἐταίροις, ‘the members of the oligarchical clubs’; see note on iv. 20. ἐταίροις is Dobree’s correction for ἐτέροις of the MSS.

διεκώλυσα. Cf. Introduction, p. xxxix.

47. ἀποκαλεῖ, ‘calls by way of abuse’; cf. Soph. *Ajax* 727.

κόθορνον. See § 30.

τί—καὶ καλέσαι χρῆ; ‘What are we to call him?’ For the καὶ cf. I. vii. 26 τί καὶ δεδιότες—ἐπείγεσθε;

48. πρόσθεν—πρίν. For the redundant πρόσθεν cf. i. 24 πρότερον—πρίν.

πρίν—μετέχοιεν, ‘until even the slaves and those who owing to poverty would sell Athens for a drachma had a share in the government.’

δραχμῆς. For the genitive of price cf. i. 1.

αὐτῆς, i.e. τῆς πόλεως, Schmidt’s correction for δραχμῆς of the MSS., which is evidently an accidental repetition of the previous δραχμῆς. Wytttenbach’s ἀρχῆς is also possible.

καὶ—γε, ‘Yes and...’

τὸ μέντοι—μεταβάλλομαι, ‘But to manage the state with the help of those who are able to be of service with horses and with shields—this I thought best in old days and I do not swerve from that opinion now.’

πρόσθεν, in the time of the Four Hundred, when Theramenes was leader of the Middle Party. See Introduction, p. xxxvi. Cf. also Thuc. VIII. 65 ὡς οὔτε μισθοφορητέον εἶη ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους, οὔτε

μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὠφελεῖν οἰοί τε ᾧσιν, on which Prof. Goodhart remarks that the limitation of the franchise to those who could afford to serve the state for nothing and who might be considered to have a stake in the country, was a favourite reform with the Middle Party at Athens.

διατάττειν, Dindorf's correction for διὰ τούτων of the MSS. Some verb is necessary. Hartman proposes διαχειρίζειν and Weidner διασφύζειν.

49. ἔσχατώτατα, superlative of ἔσχατος and therefore a double superlative. Aristotle has the comparative ἔσχατώτερος. Cobet prefers to read ἔσχατα.

50. ἐπιστήναι—δρυφάκτοις, 'to stand close to the bar in full view of the Council.' The δρύφακτοι were oak partitions which served as the bar in the Council-chamber and the law-courts; cf. Arist. *Equites* 674

ἐκεκράγεσάν τε τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἀφιέναι.

εἰθ' ὑπερεπήδων τοὺς δρυφάκτους πανταχῇ.

51. νομίζω—ἐπιτρέπη, 'I hold it to be the duty of such a leader as a man ought to be, when he sees his friends being duped, not to allow it';—a blending of two constructions, (1) προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ—ἐπιτρέπειν and (2) προστάτην εἶναι οἷον δεῖ ὅς ἂν—ἐπιτρέπη. Cf. *Anab.* II. vi. 6 ταῦτ' οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις αἰρεῖται—πολεμεῖν. Thuc. iv. 18 σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες—ἔθεντο.

οἷον δεῖ, for τοιούτου οἷον εἶναι δεῖ. For the attraction cf. § 25 τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν.

εἰ ἀνήσομεν, 'if we mean to let go,' a good example of the use of εἰ with the future in a *minatory* sentence; see note on i. 9.

ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις. Cf. § 11 αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧ τε συγγράφαι νόμους and *Memorabilia* I. ii. 31 ὁ Κριτίας τῶν τριάκοντα ὧν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρικλέους.

τῶν δ' ἔξω, genitive depending on κυρίους. Cf. Plato *Critias* 120 D θανάτου τὸν βασιλέα τῶν συγγενῶν μηδενὸς εἶναι κύριον.

θανατοῦν, explanatory infinitive. Translate:—'that the Thirty have power of life and death over all not included in the list,'—lit. 'have power over all, viz. to condemn them to death.'

Θηραμένην τουτονί. See note on § 27.

συνδοκοῦν, accusative absolute, 'with the concurrence of our whole body.' Cf. § 35 προσταχθέν.

ἡμεῖς, 'we the Thirty.'

In Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 37 we find a different account which it is

difficult to reconcile with Xenophon's narrative. It is there stated that the Thirty brought *two* laws before the Council, which they commanded it to pass:—(1) *that the Thirty should have absolute power to put to death any citizen who was not included in the list of the 3000*; (2) *that no persons should participate in the franchise who had assisted in the demolition of the fort of Ectoneia, or who had acted in any way against the Four Hundred*. 'Theramenes, when these laws were ratified, became excluded from the franchise, and the Thirty had full power to put him to death.' On this passage Dr Sandys remarks:—'If the second law had already been passed before the meeting of the Council at which Critias denounced Theramenes, the latter would obviously have withdrawn from Athens. The only alternative is to suppose, with Mr Kenyon, that Critias proposed the second law on the spot and forced it down the throat of the Council by the threat of armed force. This is not inconsistent with striking Theramenes out of the list of the 3000, the only detail recorded by Xenophon, who omits the second law as superfluous, and as therefore marring the dramatic effect of his narrative.'

52. τὴν ἑστίαν, the altar of Hestia in the Council Chamber, at which the members took the oath; cf. Aeschines xxxiv. 10 τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαίαν. Andocides i. 34 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐκαθέζοντο ἱκετεύοντες μὴ στρεβλωθῆναι.

τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, well rendered by Dakyns 'the barest forms of law and justice.'

μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι, 'that you suffer it not to be in the power of Critias,' lit. 'depending on Critias'; cf. VII. iv. 34 ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν.

53. ὑμῶν θαυμάζω εἰ μὴ βρηθήσεται, 'I am surprised that you do not mean to help.' For the genitive ὑμῶν cf. Plato *Phaedo* 89 A μάλιστα ἐθαύμασα αὐτοῦ, and for the idiomatic εἰ cf. iv. 29.

καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες, 'and that too when you know,' 'especially as you know.'

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα, who were a specially important body under the Thirty. 'For not only were their hands now always full of work; but their posts were always held by the most zealous adherents of the Thirty. They took a personal delight in gratifying the despots' lust of vengeance. They were themselves an organ of a party and the most important weapon in the hands of the government'—CURTIUS. See note on I. vii. 10.

ἐκέλευσε—ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, 'ordered to seize Theramenes'; cf. § 30 κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα.

ἐκεῖνοι εἰσελθόντες, *nominativus pendens*; for εἶπε is the principal verb. Cf. III. v. 23 λογιζόμενος ὁ Πausanias—Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν.

οὐ δέ. There is no need to read οἱ δέ with Dindorf. Cf. *Cyropaedia* v. iv. 15 οὐ κατέφυγε, Thuc. ii. 86 οὐπερ προσβεβηθήκει, Soph. *Trach.* 40 ὅπου βέβηκεν.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων, 'what follows from this'; cf. ἐκ δὲ τούτου. For the euphemism cf. Plutarch *Porc.* 6 ἀποστρέψας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον, ὑμέτερον, εἶπε, τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη ἔργον.

55. εἶλκε μὲν—εἶλκον δέ. Cf. § 25.

τῶν φρουρῶν, the soldiers of the Spartan garrison.

ἀγροοῦντες, after βουλή, *constructio ad sensum*; cf. ii. 21 ὄχλος—
φοβούμενοι and note on I. i. 14.

56. μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ. For the position of the adjective cf. iv. 9
φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον, and a more exact parallel in III. iv. 11 μάλα
φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ.

οἰμῶξοιτο, lit. 'he would howl for it,' i.e. 'rue it'; cf. Arist.
Plutus 58 οἰμῶζειν λέγω σοι, *Ranae* 178 οὐκ οἰμῶζεται;

ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, 'having tossed out the dregs.' The game of
κότταβος was of Sicilian origin and was very popular in Athenian
συμπόσια. The object of the game was to throw a small quantity of
wine at a mark. It had different forms. Sometimes it was played
with, and sometimes without, an apparatus; see next note. Cf. the
opening of the first elegy of Critias himself:—

Κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονός, εὐπρεπὲς ἔργον,
ὃν σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα.

Κριτία—καλῶ, 'this to the health of the beautiful Critias.' Cf.
iv. 6 Νικόστρατον τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον. 'The κότταβος was used as a
method of love-augury. The name of the beloved object was pronounced
or thought of by each player as he threw the wine, and the success or
failure of the suit was augured according as the sound of the λάταξ
(*'drops of wine'*) upon the πλάστιγξ (*'bronze saucer'*) was sharp and
clear or dull and confused. Whether this originally formed part of the
game seems a doubtful point'—M. R. JAMES in *Dict. of Antiq.* He
gives an account of a bronze κότταβος apparatus discovered at Perugia
resembling a candelabrum on a base; at the top is fitted a small bronze
figure easily movable so as to be replaced on occasion by a πλάστιγξ.

ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα, startling Greek at first sight; and so Madvig
proposed αὐτὰ τὰ for ταῦτα, unnecessarily however; for the text is sound,
ἀποφθέγματα being part of the predicate. Translate:—'These are not
of much account *as sayings*.' This is a recognised Greek use; cf. Thuc.

vi. 54 ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν
 ‘these most of all *for tyrants...*,’ Plato *Philebus* 16C ταύτην φήμην
 παρέδωσαν ‘this as a story.’

ἐκεῖνο, referring as often to what follows.

ἀγαστόν, ‘admirable,’ a favourite word with Xenophon, but not found elsewhere in Attic Prose.

‘Theramenes was treated like certain revolutionists of 1790—92, who were naïve enough to imagine that the bloodshed in which they had been accomplices was bound to cease when they themselves thought the right moment had come for its cessation. Critias behaved like Robespierre, who was of opinion that it is mere sentimentality to attach importance to the lives of individuals when principles are at stake, and that sentimentalists of this stamp are the most dangerous of men in critical times, men who must be removed at all hazards. This was the fate of Danton, whose protests were silenced by the minions of the men in power just like those of Theramenes, and in whose condemnation the forms of the law which he had helped to create were outraged in precisely the same way as at the death of Theramenes. Not that Theramenes is to be compared with Danton in personal character; Danton’s nature was a passionate one, that of Theramenes calculating and egoistic. But Critias and Robespierre have many points of resemblance; both were cruel from a spirit of doctrinaire fanaticism’—
 HOLM.

IV.

1. μὲν δὴ, often used in bringing a subject to a conclusion.

ὥς ἔξόν. See note on iii. 19.

τὸ ἄστυ, as opposed to the Peiræus.

ἦγον ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ‘proceeded to eject them from their estates.’

φεύγοντων—ὑποχωρούντων, ‘And when they fled to the Peiræus (the Thirty) expelled many from there also and filled Megara and Thebes with the refugees.’

φευγόντων. For the genitive absolute with subject omitted cf. I. i. 26. Here a subject is easily supplied from τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου above.

2. Θρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν. It is important to notice that a great change had come over Greek feeling during the last few months. Grote dwells on the following points:—(1) Thebes, Corinth and Megara, who a few months ago had been the bitterest enemies of

Athens, were now alienated both from Sparta and from the Thirty. (2) A basis was thus laid for sympathy with the suffering exiles who had fled from Attica,—a feeling which the recital of the enormities of Critias and his colleagues increased more and more. (3) The Thirty, while thus incurring enmity both in and out of Attica, were at the same time losing the hearty support of Sparta owing to the decline of Lysander's influence and the growing opposition of his rivals at home. These considerations shew that the enterprise of Thrasybulus was by no means a forlorn hope.

ὥς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα, 'with about seventy.' For the order cf. IV. v. 4 πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ.

Φυλήν, well described by Curtius:—'The exiles succeeded in discovering in the frontier range between Attica and Boeotia, on Mount Parnes, a spot where they might commence operations under specially favourable circumstances. On the footpath from Athens to Thebes, beneath vertical walls of rock, which are visible from Athens, lay the fort of Phyle, a small castle with a circumference of about 900 feet, completely shutting off the narrow mountain-path, and from its elevation (2000 feet above the sea) offering an open view of the whole plain of Athens. The castle-hill itself has a precipitous declivity and is only on the east side accessible by a small path; further down wooded gorges descend, permeated by rivulets which in the winter render the locality still more difficult of access.'

Φυλήν—καταλαμβάνει. The following passage in Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 37 has a most important bearing on the chronology of this time:—'*Now when winter had set in, Thrasybulus and the exiles occupied Phyle, and the force which the Thirty led out to attack them met with a reverse. Thereupon the Thirty decided to disarm the bulk of the population and to get rid of Theramenes.*' Mr Kenyon has a valuable note:—'Xenophon first narrates the disarming of the people and the execution of Theramenes, and then says that after this Thrasybulus made his descent on Phyle. According to Aristotle, the disarmament and the execution of Theramenes were in consequence of the advance and first success of Thrasybulus. There is time in the chronology of the period for either order of events; the only difference is that we must allow a longer time for the stay of Thrasybulus at Phyle than is usually given in the histories. In this there is, however, no difficulty, especially as we know that the forces of the exiles grew from 70 to 1000 before they began their march from Phyle to Athens. They probably remained for two or three of the winter months at Phyle

and then advanced. The date of the occupation of Munychia can be fixed within narrow limits from the speech of Cleocritus (iv. 21) where he says that the Thirty had killed in eight months more than the Peloponnesians in ten years. Athens surrendered on the 16th of Munychion (April), and the Thirty were probably established about the beginning of the following month. Eight full months would bring us to Gamelion (January), about which point we may place the defeat of the Thirty at Munychia. The government of the Ten which followed and the intervention of the Spartans occupied several months more, and the democracy was restored about the following August, after 16 months intermission.' Dr Sandys favours this view of the chronology.

σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσι. The Knights were strong supporters of the Thirty in their tyranny.

καὶ μαλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης, 'the weather being very fine indeed.' For this use of μάλα cf. v. iv. 14 μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος, and for the emphatic καὶ cf. I. v. 13 καὶ πάσας.

3. ὅπως—ἐπιτηδείων, 'that they might force them to surrender by cutting off the avenues of supplies.'

οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι—ἀποβαλόντες, 'And the Thirty impeded by the snow-storm retreated to the city, having lost a large number of their camp-followers by the attacks of the men from Phyle.' This mention of the snow-storm helps to confirm Mr Kenyon's view of the chronology given above.

ὑπό, the necessary correction of Wytttenbach for ἀπό of the MSS. For the syntax cf. I. i. 27, iv. 9.

4. γινώσκοντες—ἑσχατιάς, 'And feeling sure that the exiles would plunder the country estates also, if they were left unprotected, they despatched troops to the frontiers.'

φυλάς, 'divisions.' The Athenian army was organised on the same basis as the state. Thus each of the 10 tribes furnished about 100 horsemen.

λασίῳ, 'rough' especially with brushwood; cf. IV. ii. 19 οὐκ ἡσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον.

5. συνειλεγμένων, subject περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, cf. IV. vi. 12 ἀπέθανον περὶ τριακοσίους.

καταβαίνει, since Phyle was in the mountains.

θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα, 'having grounded arms.' His men did not pile their arms, for they were about to make an attack; see note on ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα (next section) and cf. § 12 θέσθαι τὰς ἀσπίδας.

6. ἐπεὶ δὲ—ἐποίουν, 'when it drew towards day and the enemy

were by this time getting up and leaving the camp as each man wanted, and the grooms were making a noise while rubbing down their horses.'

ὅποι ἐδεῖτο, 'whither each wanted,' ἀνίσταντο being treated as a verb of motion; cf. Plato *Phaedo* 116 A ἀνίστατο εἰς οἴκημα.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, 'from the place where the arms were piled,' i.e. the camp; cf. i. 1.

οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον, 'Thrasybulus and his men'; cf. iii. 46.

ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα. They had not piled arms like the enemy, but had simply laid down their spears and shields. 'Each man grounds his shield and lays down his spear beside him. Sometimes this is done in halting in the face of an enemy; sometimes the order θέσθε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν τάξει is used as a means of getting the men into their ranks and ready for any operation. In Thuc. v. 74 and more particularly in Xen. *Anab.* vii. i. 22 it seems almost certain that each spear and shield is left lying just as it was put down by the owner. But in camp and on garrison duty, when the arms were regularly deposited at certain centres, one would suppose that they must have been to some extent stacked. Perhaps this was left to the ὑπηρέτης attached to each hoplite, who doubtless cleaned and looked after his master's arms'—GOODHART on Thuc. viii. 25.

ἐστι—οὓς, 'some'; cf. § 22 and § 26 ἐστιν ὅτε. Thuc. i. 6 ἐστιν οἷς—ἄθλα τίθεται. Propertius iv. ix. 17 *est quibus*.

ἐπικαλούμενον. Cf. iii. 31.

καὶ—δέ, 'yes and...' For the use of these two particles after τε cf. *Cyropædia* v. iii. 43 οἱ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ σωφρονούντες.

Β. οὐκέτι—ἀσφαλῆ. 'The minority which had sympathised with Theramenes, as well as that portion of the Three Thousand who were least compromised as accomplices in the recent enormities, began to waver so manifestly in their allegiance, that Critias and his colleagues felt some doubt of being able to maintain themselves in the city. They resolved to secure Eleusis and the island of Salamis as places of safety and resource in case of being compelled to evacuate Athens'—GROTE.

παραγγέλλαντες, 'having ordered (to follow).'

ἐξέτασιν τε—ἐξιέναι, 'And having held a review of the Knights, they gave out that they wished to discover the numbers of the Eleusinians and how large an additional garrison they would require, and ordered them all to register their names; and they made each successive man who registered go out through the postern down to the sea.'

ἐξέτασιν—ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι. *If the text is sound*, the only possible interpretation of these words is that of Hartman, followed in the translation above. He holds that the Thirty (1) held a review of their

Knights in order to have them ready for action if necessary, and then (2) made the Eleusinians come and register their names. Hartman supports his rendering by quoting *Anab.* v. iii. 3 ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο, which he takes to be equivalent to ἐξέτασις τῶν ὀπλιτῶν and therefore a perfect parallel to ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι (= τῶν ἱππέων). Unfortunately ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις seems almost certainly to mean a 'review in full armour.' If any change is to be made, Classen's emendation ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις appears to be the best; for ἱππεύσι might have crept in from ἱππεύσι two lines above. If this emendation is adopted, the meaning will be 'having given orders for a review of the Eleusinians'; and this is the signification of ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες in iii. 20. Hermann's conjecture ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις is also worth considering.

ἀεί, 'from time to time'; cf. τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα ἀεί below and I. i. 27.

ἀναγαγόντα, 'up' to Athens from the coast.

'At the same time, it appears, a similar visit and seizure of prisoners was made by some of the Thirty in Salamis. Both Lysias (xii. 52, xiii. 44) and Diodorus (xiv. 32) connect together these two similar proceedings at Eleusis and at Salamis'—GROTE.

9. τὸ Ὀιδεῖον. The Odeum was built by Pericles about 445 B.C. primarily for the musical contests in the Panathenaic games. But it was also used for various other purposes: e.g. for a law-court (*Arist. Tespae* 1109), and for the distribution of corn (*Demosth.* p. 918).

τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας, 'the rest, viz. Knights,' 'the Knights besides'; cf. ii. 18 μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων.

ἵνα—φοβῇσθε, well rendered by Grote 'in order that your hopes and fears may be identified with ours.' This is a euphemistic way of stating a leading feature of the policy of the Thirty, which was to implicate as many as possible in their own crimes; cf. *Plato Apol.* 32 C, quoted in the note on iii. 39.

φανερὰν—τὴν ψῆφον. For the syntax cf. iii. 56, and for the method of voting see note on iii. 23.

10. ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει. The other half of the building was occupied by the 3000 and the Knights.

τῶν πολιτῶν, partitive genitive depending on οἷς. Translate:—'These proceedings pleased those of the citizens also (as well as the Thirty) who cared only for their personal advantage.'

κατὰ—ἀναφέρουσαν, 'along the carriage road leading up to the Peiraeus,' the town of Peiraeus being on high ground.

11. ἔτι μὲν, 'for a time.' *τέως μὲν* is generally used in this sense.

But cf. *Anab.* VI. ii. 15 *ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκπλεῦσαι· θυομένῳ δέ...* and Plato, *Prot.* 310 C.

ἀνιέναι, 'to let them come up.' Contrast ii. 20 *καθέντας*.

μέγας ὁ κύκλος. Cf. Thuc. ii. 13 *τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος*.

ἔδόκει—οὔσι, lit. 'seemed to them not yet being many.'

συνεσπειράθησαν, 'retired in close order,' derived from *σπείρα* 'a coil.' Xenophon uses the word in the same sense in *Anab.* I. viii. 21 and other places.

Μουνυχίαν, on the peninsula between the harbours of Munychia and Peiraeus. It was on high ground and an important point in the fortification of the harbours. Meisterhans prefers the spelling *Μουνυχία*.

Ἴπποδάμειον ἀγοράν, so called after Hippodamus of Miletus, the great architect who had laid out the town of Peiraeus in the time of Pericles.

Βενδίδειον, 'the temple of Bendis,' the Thracian Moon-goddess, whose worship was introduced into Athens by Thracian immigrants and became very popular in Athens. Her festival, *τὰ Βενδίδεια*, is mentioned in Plato *Rep.* 354 A; cf. also 327 A.

ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων, 'fifty deep'; cf. I. vi. 29 *ἐπὶ μιᾷς*. So at Leuctra the Thebans were drawn up fifty deep (VI. iv. 12). Cf. also *εἰς δέκα ὀπίστας* 'ten deep' in the next section.

12. *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*, 'behind them'; cf. I. i. 34 *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*.

πελτοφόροι—πετροβόλοι. Grote has a good comment:—'He was indeed speedily joined by many sympathising countrymen; but few of them, since the general disarming manœuvre of the oligarchs, had heavy armour. Some had light shields and darts, but others were wholly unarmed and could merely serve as throwers of stones.'

αὐτόθεν, 'from the place itself,' i.e. from the population of the Peiraeus and Munychia.

θέσθαι—τὰς ἀσπίδας, 'to ground their shields.' See notes on §§ 5, 6. It was customary for troops to lay down their spears also when listening to a speech. But here the speech is short and the battle is about to begin.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα, i.e. sword and spear.

13. *ἡμέραν πέμπτην*, 'four days ago,' lit. 'now for a fifth day,' accusative of duration of time; cf. *Cyropaedia* VI. iii. 11 *καὶ χθὲς δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπραττον*.

οὗτοι δὲ, repeating the subject with emphasis; cf. § 41 and I. vii. 25 *τούτους*.

ἀπεσημαίνοντο, 'proscribed,' properly 'confiscated,' i.e. treated them no better than confiscated goods. Cf. iii. 21. Dakyns gives the point well:—'set the seal of proscription on our dearest friends.'

τοι, 'let me tell you'; cf. iii. 32.

παραγεγέννηται, '(the exiles) have come to a position where the Thirty never expected them, but which we ever prayed they might reach.'

οὐ MSS. οἱ Cobet. See note on iii. 54.

14. ἔχοντες—συμαχοῦσι, 'Here we stand with our good swords in our hands, face to face with our foes; and the gods themselves are with us, seeing that we were arrested in the midst of our peaceful pursuits; at any moment, whilst we supped or slept or marketed, sentence of banishment was passed upon us. We had done no wrong, —nay, many of us were not even resident in the country'—DAKYNs.

οἱ δὲ καί, 'and some of us also,' as if οἱ μὲν had preceded.

οὐχ ὅπως—ἀλλ' οὐδ', 'not only not..., but not even'; cf. Thuc. iii. 42 οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀτιμάζειν. There is an ellipse of λέγω between οὐχ and ὅπως.

ἐν εὐδίᾳ—χειμῶνα. For the circumstances see §§ 2, 3.

ἐγχειρῶμεν, 'put our hands to anything.'

15. καὶ νῦν δέ. Cf. § 6.

διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι, 'owing to the steep ascent.'

ἐξιζόμεθα αὐτῶν, 'we shall reach them'; cf. the genitive after στοχάζεσθαι and other words of *aiming at, reaching*, etc.

κατατρώσομεν, 'we shall wound severely.' For this intensive force, of κατά cf. § 22 κατεδακρύσαμεν 'we wept bitterly.'

16. καὶ ὥετο—ἀσπίσιν, 'One might expect that we should have to fight on equal terms at least with their front rank. But as it is, if you let fly your weapons as eagerly as you ought, no man of you will miss his mark, seeing that the road is full of them; and they in their efforts to protect themselves will be always skulking under their shields.'

νῦν δέ. Cf. iii. 28.

ὦν γε. ὅς γε like ὅστις often has a causal force; cf. § 41.

ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν, either (1) 'to rout them when they spring upon us,' or (2) 'to spring upon them and rout them.' If (2) is right, ἐναλλομένους should be ἐναλλομένοις according to strict syntax after ἐξέσται. But this rule is very often not adhered to, especially in Xenophon.

17. οὕτω—αἰτιώτατος ὢν, 'you must fight in such a way that

each man of you may be assured in his heart of hearts that he himself is the chief cause of our victory.' For the syntax see note on iii. 12.

παῖδας—καὶ γυναῖκας. For the order cf. I. iii. 19.

ἐπίδωσι, 'live to see,' the ordinary meaning of this verb; cf. *Cyropaedia* VIII. vii. 7 τοὺς φίλους ἐπέιδον δι' ἐμοῦ εὐδαίμονας γενομένους.

μνημείου—τεύξεται, 'As for a monument, no one, be he ever so rich, will win such a glorious one.' The order of words is striking and is employed for purposes of emphasis; for (1) *μνημείου*, (2) *πλούσιος ὢν*, (3) *καλοῦ* are all emphatic. Cf. Herod. vii. 46 οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε.

παιᾶνα. 'The Paean was connected originally with Apollo and his sister Artemis. It was a solemn song either praying for the averting of evil and for rescue, or giving thanks for help vouchsafed. The name was, however, also used in an extended sense for invocations to other gods. The Paean was struck up by generals before the battle and by armies on the march, as well as after the victory. Similarly it was sounded when the fleet sailed out of harbour'—SEYFFERT.

Ἐννάλιον, in Hom. *Il.* xvii. 210 an epithet of Ares (from Ἐνύω); but later a distinct divinity. The words τὸν Ἐννάλιον παρακαλεῖν seem to mean simply 'to raise the war-cry'; cf. *Αναβ.* v. ii. 14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἡλάλαξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλίται.

18. πρότερον—πρίν. For this redundancy cf. i. 24, iii. 48.

πρίν ἂν—πέσοι—τρωθείη. 'In indirect discourse ἂν is occasionally retained, even when the subjunctive to which it belonged has been changed to the optative: e.g. *Memorabilia* I. ii. 6 ἀπεκάλει διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ὧν ἂν λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν 'because they were obliged (as he said) to converse with those from whom they received the pay.' Many scholars repudiate this use of ἂν and emend the passages'—GOODWIN, *Moods and Tenses*, § 702.

19. ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα. They had only grounded their shields; cf. § 12. So again in § 25 ὅπλα denotes 'shields' only.

τέθαιπται, 'lies buried'; cf. *τέθνηκε* 'lies dead.'

δέκα ἀρχόντων. For the 'decarchy' in the Peiraeus (here first mentioned by Xenophon) see note on iii. 11, and cf. Plutarch *Lysander* 15 τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καταστήσας ἄρχοντας.

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας. Cf. Nepos *Thrasylbulus* ii. 6 *neminem iacentem ueste spoliavit, nil attigit nisi arma quorum indigebat.*

20. ὁ των μυστῶν κήρυξ, 'the herald of the initiated,' an important functionary in the Eleusinian Mysteries, a member of the sacred family

of Κήρυκες. Cf. Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 39 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (i.e. superintend the temple of Demeter at Eleusis) Κήρυκας καὶ Εὐμολπίδας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

‘There is a healthy ring about the speeches of Thrasybulus and Cleocritus, a tone of conviction and of simple feeling, which is highly refreshing after all the clever orations to which Thucydides has treated us. The heart speaks once more, and not the intellect with its cool calculation of advantages and pride in its own cunning. One might almost say that the terrible experiences to which Athens and Greece had been subjected had to a certain extent acted like a thunderstorm which clears the air’—HOLM.

κατασιωπησάμενος, ‘having procured silence.’

συμφοιτηταί, ‘schoolfellows’; cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 255 A. Cf. also note on I. i. 35 and Demosth. p. 315 ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφοίτων.

21. ἐταιρίας, perhaps ‘companionship’ simply, but more probably ‘membership of clubs.’ Cf. iii. 46 and Introduction, p. xxxv. ‘These clubs were associations of persons of the same age and standing among the richer classes for the purposes of public life in general and politics in particular. They mostly had a strongly oligarchic tendency, but supported some definite oligarchic leader rather than oligarchy in the abstract’—GOODHART on Thuc. viii. 48.

κερδέων. So again in § 40. Xenophon often uses the uncontracted form of the genitive plural.

ὀλίγου δεῖν, lit. ‘so as to want little,’ i.e. ‘almost.’ For this absolute use of the infinitive cf. Aesch. *Persae* 246 ἀλλ’, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τάχ’ εἴσει.

ἐν ὀκτῷ μηνί, probably May 404 to January 403 B.C.; see note on § 2. Isocrates (xii. 67) says that the Thirty put to death without trial 1500 of the citizens.

δέκα ἔτη, the duration of the last period of the War, generally called the ‘Deceleian War,’ 414—405 B.C.

22. ἔστιν οὗς. Cf. § 6.

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες, i.e. the survivors of the Thirty and the Board of Ten in the Peiraeus.

καὶ—προσακούειν, i.e. not only on account of their defeat, but also on account of the speech of Cleocritus.

23. τῷ συνεδρίῳ, i.e. the Council-chamber.

ἕκαστοι, ‘each detachment’; cf. iii. 3.

ὅσοι—Πειραιεῖ, ‘All who had done anything particularly outrageous and were therefore alarmed stoutly maintained that they ought not to yield to those in the Peiraeus,’ i.e. to Thrasybulus and his men.

ὥς οὐδέν—κακῶν, well given by Dakyns, 'that they could well dispense with most of their present evils.'

24. εἵλοντο δέκα. The Ten were members of the Middle Party, men, according to Lysias (xii. 55), οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐναντιώτατοι Σαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἐταιρείᾳ. We learn, however, from Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 38 that this board of Ten did not give satisfaction, and that another was appointed. 'When the exiles in Peiraeus and Munychia began to gain the upper hand in the war, through the defection of the whole people to them, the party in the city deposed the original Ten, and elected another Ten, consisting of the men who possessed the highest character. Under their administration...the treaty of reconciliation was made and the democracy returned to the city. The most prominent members of this board were Rhinon of Paeania and Phayllus of Acherdus' (Kenyon's Translation).

ένα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, 'one from each tribe'; cf. IV. ii. 8 εἷς ἀπὸ πόλεως.

Ἐλευσινάδε. We were told in § 8 that the Thirty had already thought of Eleusis as a place of refuge in case of difficulties arising. ἐξεκάθευδον, Latin *excubabant* or *excubias agebant*.

τῷ Ὀιδεῖω. Cf. § 10.

τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, because they were now serving as cavalry by day and as hoplites by night.

κατὰ τὰ τεῖχῃ, 'along the walls'; cf. note on I. i. 5.

25. οἱ δέ, the exiles.

ὄπλα, 'shields'; cf. § 19.

ἐλευκοῦντο, 'were whitening them,' probably with chalk. Cf. VII. v. 20 ἐλευκοῦντο τὰ κράνη. III. ii. 15 *Kāras leukáspidas*.

πρὶν δέ—γυμνήτες, 'And before ten days had elapsed (since the occupation of the Peiraeus), they had given pledges that all who took part in the fighting should have equality of taxation, even though they were foreigners; and they marched out with a large body of hoplites and light-armed troops.'

ἰσοτέλειαν, the condition of *ἰσοτελεῖς*, a favoured class of *μέτοικοι* who enjoyed certain privileges (non-political), in return for which they were subject to the same burdens as citizens.

ὁπώραν. Cf. i. 1 ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο.

26. ἔστιν ὅτε, 'sometimes'; cf. § 6 ἐστὶν οὓς and Latin *est ubi*.

Αἰξωνέων, 'members of the deme Aexone' on the sea-coast to the south of Athens. Αἰξωνέων is the correction of Palmer for ἔξω νέων the reading of all the MSS. For another buried proper name cf. § 34.

27. τῶν ἱππέων, partitive genitive with Καλλίστρατον, 'one of the Knights'; cf. iii. 14.

εἰ δὲ καὶ—δρόμου, 'Here perhaps we may be allowed to mention the following device of the city engineer. When he discovered that the enemy meant to bring up their engines along the race-course which stretches from the Lyceum (to the city wall), he ordered all the available teams to cart huge blocks of stone and deposit them at any point on the course each waggoner liked.'

εἰ δὲ καὶ—ὅς, a confused construction. Before ὅς we must supply 'I will give an account of him.' A similar confusion is found in Isocr. vi. 62 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν βοθητῶν εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς βουλομένους ἡμῖν ἐπαμῖναι, where before πολλοὺς we must supply 'I state.'

τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ, genitive of connexion after a verb of *saying*,—lit. 'to say this *about* the engineer.' Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1122 τῆς μητρὸς ἤκω τῆς ἐμῆς φράσων. Ajax 1236 ποίου κέκραγας ἀνδρὸς ᾧδ' ὑπέρφρονα; Plato *Meno* 96 A ἔχεις οὖν εἰπεῖν ἄλλου ὁτοιοῦν πράγματος; *leges* 804 E εἵπομ' ἂν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὔτε ἱππικῆς οὔτε γυμναστικῆς.

Λυκείου. Cf. I. i. 33.

ἀμαξιαίους λίθους, lit. 'stones large enough to fill a waggon'; cf. *Anab.* iv. ii. 3, where the Kurds roll down stones of this description upon the Greeks.

ὅπου—τοῦ δρόμου, 'where in the course.' For this kind of partitive genitive cf. iii. 44 and I. v. 20.

πράγματα παρέιχε. Cf. iii. 31.

28. συνέπραξεν—δανεισθῆναι, 'arranged with the ambassadors a loan from Sparta of 100 talents,' nearly £25,000. The restored democracy afterwards nobly repaid this loan as one contracted by the state; see note on § 43.

29. μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, 'were very proud of their great Lysander.'

οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων, 'when things were going so well (with Lysander).' For this impersonal use cf. v. iii. 27 προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις and Thuc. i. 109 ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προῦχώρει. See also note on II. ii. 16 τοιοῦτων δὲ ὄντων.

φθονήσας—εἰ, 'envious at the thought of Lysander gaining credit.' For this idiomatic use of εἰ cf. iii. 53.

πίσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς, i.e. a majority of their body. For the great power of the Ephors see note on ii. 13.

φρουράν, a body of φρουροί, used especially of a Spartan garrison;

cf. III. ii. 23, VI. iv. 17. So *φρουροί* in this book is used of the Spartan garrison of Athens, e.g. iii. 14.

30. *εὐορκεῖν*, i.e. be true to the treaty; cf. ii. 22.

εἰγίνωσκον, not 'knew' but 'supposed.' Their supposition was inaccurate.

Ἀλιπέδω, a wide plain between the Bay of Phalerum and Athens.

31. *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν*, apparently a conversational phrase, lit. 'as far as noise was concerned,' i.e. 'for form's sake.' He did not attack them in real earnest, though he let his men shout. Cf. Thuc. viii. 92 *ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκα ὠργίζετο τοῖς ὀπλίταις*. The phrase is a pleonastic combination of (1) *ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς* and (2) *ὅσον βοῆς ἔνεκεν*. For *ἔνεκεν* in the sense of 'as far as concerns' cf. i. 14 and I. i. 24; and for the pleonasm cf. Plato *leges* 701 D *τίνος χάριν ἔνεκα* and Lysias xxvi. 6 *περὶ τῶν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἀρξάντων ἔνεκεν*.

ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς, 'resulting from the attack.'

μόρας. The Spartan army was divided into six *μόραι* 'divisions,' each under the command of a *πολέμαρχος*. Each *μόρα* contained two *λόχοι* commanded by *λοχαγοί*.

ἱππέων—φυλάς. Cf. § 3.

τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, 'the Mute Harbour,' thought by Curtius to be the innermost part of the Peiraeus. It may have been so called in contradistinction to the noisy main basin of the harbour. Leake suggests that the harbour referred to may be the land-locked creek west of the promontory of Eëtioneia. For *κωφός* in the sense of 'land-locked,' i.e. so well protected that the sound of the waves is not heard, cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 778 C *ἐν ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι καὶ κωφῷ*.

32. *ἐνέντας*, 'at the gallop.' For this absolute use cf. *Cyropaedia* VII. i. 29 *ἐνίει οὐδὲν φειδόμενος τῶν ἵππων*.

τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης, 'those who had seen ten years' service,' a Spartan expression; cf. the same phrase in III. iv. 23, IV. v. 15, v. iv. 20. Cf. also IV. vi. 10 *τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης*. The Spartan ἥβη or military age was 18.

Πειραιοῖ, the old locative; cf. § 43 *Ἐλευσῖνι*, also *Μαραθῶνι*, *χαμαί*, *Romai*, *Carthaginί*, *humί*.

33. *ἡκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων*. For the *asyndeton* in a vivid narrative cf. IV. iii. 19 *συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον*. *Αναβ.* III. iv. 25 *ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον*. Soph. *Αἴαχ* 60 *ὥτρυνον εἰσέβαλλον*.

ἐπὶ πόδα, 'slowly backwards'; cf. *Cyropaedia* III. iii. 69 *ἐπὶ πόδ' ἀνάγειν ἔξω βελῶν*.

πολεμάρχῳ. See note on § 31 μόρας.

Κεραμειῳ, a district in the north-west of Athens, intersected by the city-wall. In the outer part, here referred to, were many graves of those who had fallen in the war.

34. τῶν Ἀλῶν, Madvig's correction for τῶν ἄλλων of the MSS.; cf. ταῖς Ἀλαῖς below, where one MS. has ταῖς ἄλλαις. Cf. note on § 26. Halae was the name of the marshy ground at the head of the great harbour of the Peiraeus.

ἐπ' ὀκτώ. Cf. § 11 ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων.

εἰς χεῖρας ἐδέξαντο, 'allowed them to come to close quarters'; cf. Thuc. v. 72 εἰς χεῖρας ὑπομένειν.

35. οὐδ' ὥς, 'not even so.' Cf. Thuc. viii. 51 καὶ ὥς 'even so,' 'even as it was.'

οἷα χρηὴ λέγοντας. The emphasis is on the participle, as often in Greek; cf. ii. 13. Translate:—'with what proposals they must send envoys.'

δίστη, 'proceeded to set at variance.'

πρὸς σφᾶς, i.e. to himself and the Ephors.

36. νομίζεται, 'it is customary'; cf. Eur. Alc. 99 ὥς νομίζεται.

δύο τῶν ἐφόρων. Cf. Xen. de rep. Lac. 13 πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἳ πολυπραγμονοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἣν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅ τι ποιῇ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός.

τῆς—γνώμης. possessive genitive; cf. § 27 φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. We have in this sentence a curious blending of constructions, (1) τῆς Πανσανίου γνώμης ὄντες and (2) μετὰ Πανσανίου ὄντες.

ἔχοντας—σπονδάς, 'bearing the terms of peace with the Lacedaemonians.'

ιδιώτας, as opposed to the official Ten, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ of the next section.

37. χρήσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται, 'to do what they liked with them,' a phrase signifying unconditional surrender. For χρήσθαι infinitive of purpose cf. iii. 7 φρουρεῖν, and for ὅ τι cognate accusative cf. II. i. 2 τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι.

38. οἱ ἔφοροι, the three Ephors now at Sparta.

οἱ ἔκκλητοι, 'the members of the Spartan Assembly'; cf. III. ii. 23 ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. V. ii. 33 ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλητῶντας ἔλεγε τοιαύδε.

πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας. Aristotle 'Ath. πολ. 38 makes these commissioners 10 in number. But Dr Sandys remarks that, as the number 15 is exceptional, it is more likely to be right than not.

ἐφ' ᾧ τε—ἔχειν. See note on ii. 20.

ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, 'it seemed good to the commissioners that (those who had any fears) should settle at Eleusis.' Hartman, thinking that αὐτοῖς would naturally denote τοῖς φοβουμένοις, proposes to read αὐτούς. But the meaning is quite clear without this change. Cf. Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 39 τοὺς βουλευομένους Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων ἐξοικεῖν ἔχειν Ἑλευσῖνα, ἐπιτίμους ὄντας καὶ κυρίους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν καρπουμένους. Elaborate conditions as to their settlement at Eleusis are added.

39. περανθέντων, Wytttenbach's correction for περαιωθέντων of the MSS.

διήκε, 'disbanded'; cf. iii. 7 ἀφῆκε.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοί. The text appears to be unsound. Cobet inserts ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν after κατέβησαν. Breitenbach's proposal is preferable, viz. to omit οἱ στρατηγοί. Apparently he is unaware that he has the authority of a good MS. for his view.

40. γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. Cf. γινῶθι σεαυτὸν, the answer given by the Delphic oracle to Croesus. Cf. *Cyropaedia* VII. ii. 25 where Croesus says ἀλλὰ νῦν δὴ, ᾧ Κῦρε, γινώσκω μὲν ἑμαυτὸν· σὺ δὲ δοκεῖς ἔτι ἀληθεύσειν τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὡς εὐδαίμων ἔσομαι γινώσκων ἑμαυτὸν;

ἐπὶ τίνι. Cf. § 29 ἐπὶ τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ.

κερδέων. Cf. § 21.

δικαιοσύνης—προσῆκει, 'justice does not concern you.' Cf. *Anab.* III. i. 31 τούτῳ τῆς Βοιωτίας προσῆκει οὐδέν.

41. τούτου, objective genitive, 'about this'; cf. Eur. *Hel.* 26 μορφῆς κρίσιν, Soph. *Ajax* 1239 ὅπλων ἀγῶνας.

περιέλιφθε, 'you have been caught,' the emendation of Wytttenbach for the impossible περιελήλυθεν of the best MSS. Dindorf gives παραλέλυσθε 'you have been paralyzed,' and Sauppe περιηλάθητε 'you were harassed' from περιελαύνω, cf. Arist. *Equites* 290.

ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ, contemptuous; cf. i. 28.

οἳ γε, ἐπὶ τούτοις understood:—'How can you pride yourselves on them, seeing that they...?' For the causal force of ὅς γε cf. § 16.

κλοιῶ δῆσαντες. Cf. Plutarch *Solon* 24 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ βλάβης τετραπύδων νόμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κύνα δάκνοντα παραδοῦναι κλοιῶ τετραπήχει δεδεμένον· τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν.

κάκεινοι, repeating the subject with emphasis; cf. § 13.

42. ὑμᾶς. He now turns to his democratic friends.

43. Ἑλευσῖνι, locative; cf. § 32 Πειραιῶι.

ἦ μήν, 'verily,' often used in strong asseverations.

μὴ μνησικακήσειν, 'that they would bear no grudge.' The words of the oath are preserved by Andocides (i. 90):—οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριακόντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα οὐδὲ τούτων δὲ ἂν ἐθέλοι εὐθύνας δίδοναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς ἤρξεν. Cf. Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 39 τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηδενὶ πρὸς μηδένα μνησικακεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριακόντα καὶ τοὺς δέκα καὶ τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τούτους εἰὰν διδῶσιν εὐθύνας. Neither Xenophon nor Andocides mentions the Board of Ten as excluded from the amnesty. Cf. also Arist. *Plutus* 1146 μὴ μνησικακῆσης, εἰ σὺ Φυλὴν κατέλαβες.

ἔτι καὶ νῦν. See Introduction, p. xxi. Cf. Aristotle 'Αθ. πολ. 40 'The Athenians seem both in public and in private to have behaved in the most unprecedentedly admirable and public-spirited way with reference to the preceding troubles. Not only did they blot out all memory of former offences, but they even repaid to the Lacedaemonians out of the public purse the money which the Thirty had borrowed for the war, although the treaty required each party, the party of the City and the party of the Peiraeus, to pay its own debts separately. This they did because they thought it was a necessary first step in the direction of restoring harmony....A further reconciliation was made with the secessionists at Eleusis two years after the secession, in the archonship of Xenaenetus,' i.e. 401 B.C. (Kenyon's Translation).

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

The references are to the pages of the Notes.

I. PROPER NAMES.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Abydos, 76 | Chios, 117 |
| Achaeans, 86 | Chrysopolis, 79 |
| Adeimantus, 122 | Cius, 91 |
| Aegina, 124 | Clearchus, 84 |
| Aegospotami, 122 | Cleocritus, 154 |
| Aexone, 155 | Cleophon, 81, 105, 106, 116, 126 |
| Agessandridas, 75 | Conon, 105, 122 |
| Agis, 83 | Coressus, 85 |
| Agrirentum, 98 | Coryphasium, 86 |
| Alcibiades, 76, 77, 92-95, 98, 141 | Critias, 128, 131, 144, 146, 149 |
| Antandrus, 81 | Cume, 98 |
| Antiochus, 97 | Cyrus, 90, 95 |
| Antiphon, 140 | Cyzicus, 78 |
| Anytus, 141 | |
| Aracus, 119 | Deceleia, 83, 89 |
| Archedemus, 105 | Delphinium, 95 |
| Arginusae, 102-104 | Dorieus, 75, 98 |
| Argos, 124 | |
| Ariobarzanes, 91 | Eleusis, 149, 155, 159, 160 |
| Aristarchus, 113 | Endius, 81 |
| Astyochus, 83 | Eratosthenes, 128, 134 |
| | Ephesus, 118 |
| Bithynian Thracians, 87 | Eteonicus, 117 |
| Byzantium, 88, 89 | Evagoras, 122 |
| | |
| Cadusii, 120 | Gordium, 90 |
| Callicratidas, 99, 100, 101 | Gytheium, 92 |
| Callixeinus, 108 | |
| Cannonus, 111, 112 | Halae, 158 |
| Castolus, 91 | Halipedum, 157 |
| Chalcedon, 87, 88, 123 | Hannibal, 84 |

- Heracleia, 86
 Hermocrates, 81, 88
 Hieramenes, 119
 Histiaea, 124

 Leon, 140
 Lysander, 87, 95, 99, 100, 118,
 120, 123, 124, 131
 Lysias, 134

 Melos, 124
 Menecles, 115
 Methymna, 101
 Mindarus, 76
 Munychia, 151
 Mytilene, 114

 Notium, 85

 Oenoe, 113

 Pactye, 98
 Patrocleides, 125
 Peiraeus, 150, 153
 Pericles, 111

 Pharnabazus, 76, 81, 91
 Philocles, 122
 Phyle, 147
 Pygela, 85

 Salamis, 150
 Samos, 95, 117, 124
 Satyrus, 130
 Scione, 124
 Sellasia, 125
 Sestos, 77, 84
 Socrates, 110, 116, 140
 Stages, 85
 Strombichides, 128
 Syracuse, 79

 Teos, 97
 Thasos, 83
 Theramenes, 78, 106, 107, 116,
 128, 133, 137, 142, 144, 146
 Thrasybulus, 75, 147, 154
 Thrasyllus, 75, 77
 Tissaphernes, 76, 77, 83, 91
 Torone, 124

II. GREEK WORDS.

- ἀγνωμονεῖν, 115
 ἀδικεῖν, 108
 αἶ, 82, 86, 118, 150
 Ἀκαδημία, 125
 ἀκμάζειν, 85
 ἄλλος, 127
 ἀμαξίαίος, 156
 ἀμηχανία, 93
 ἀναβαίνειν, 120
 ἀνάγειν, 150
 ἀναγκαῖος, 111
 ἀναρχία, 128
 ἀναφέρειν, 150
 ἀναψύχειν, 97
 ἀνδράποδον, 101
 ἀνέχειν, 102
 ἄνθρωπος, 100
 ἀνιέναι, 142, 143, 151
 ἀνολγειν, 76

 ἀντικόπτειν, 132
 ἀντίπαλος, 137, 141
 Ἀπατούρια, 107
 ἀποκαλεῖν, 142
 ἀποκοτταβίζειν, 145
 ἀπολέπειν, 137
 ἀποσέειν, 80
 ἀποσημαίνεσθαι, 134, 152
 ἀργυρολογία, 77
 ἀρμοστής, 87, 123, 131
 ἀσεβεῖν, 93
 ἀσπάζεσθαι, 86
 ἄστυ, 146
 ἀτέλεια, 85
 ἄτιμος, 125
 αὐτόθεν, 126, 151
 αὐτοκράτωρ, 94
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, 86
 ἀφανίζειν, 104

βάραθρον, 112
 βέλτιστοι, 135
 Βενδίδειον, 151
 βουλευτά, 134
 βουλή, 107, 109, 130, 135

γίγνομαι, 100, 123, 126
 γιγνώσκω, 96, 139, 157
 γνώριμος, 124

δείλη, 76
 δέκα οί, 155
 δέκα τά, 157
 δεκατεντήριον, 79
 δεκάτη, 79
 διαβολή, 118
 διαψήφισις, 110
 διέκπλους, 103
 διέχειν, 121
 διΐέναι, 159
 δίκαιος, 139
 δίκροτος, 122
 διωβελία, 105
 διώκειν, 78
 δρύφακτοι, 143
 δῶρον, 77

ἐγγυητής, 116
 ἐγχειρεῖν, 152
 ἐκκαθεύδειν, 155
 ἐκκλητοί, 158
 ἐκλέγειν, 80
 ἐκπίπτειν, 83
 ἔμπορος, 104
 ἔμφρουρος, 100
 ἔνδεκα οί, 108, 144
 ἐνιέναι, 157
 ἐντρέπεσθαι, 138
 Ἐυνάλιος, 153
 ἐξαιρεῖν, 127
 ἐξέτασις, 133, 149
 ἐξικνεῖσθαι, 152
 ἐπαινεῖν, 82
 ἐπακτρίς, 77
 ἐπιβάτης, 88
 ἐπιβολή, 106
 ἐπιδεῖν, 153
 ἐπικαλεῖν, 137
 ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, 123
 ἐπιμέλεσθαι, 106

ἐπιστολεύς, 80, 119
 ἐπίτιμος, 125
 ἐπιτρέπειν, 94
 ἐπιχειρεῖν, 138
 ἔρρειν, 80
 ἔστια, 144
 ἔσχατιά, 148
 ἑταιρία, 154
 ἑταῖρος, 142
 εὐαγγέλια, 104
 εὐεργεσία, 81
 εὐθύ, 91
 εὐορκεῖν, 157
 εὐριπος, 102
 ἐφοδιάζεσθαι, 100
 ἐφῶδιον, 81
 ἔφοροι, 125, 156, 158
 ἐχόμενος, 102
 ἐωθινὸν τό, 76

ἦβη, 157
 ἡλικία, 102
 Ἡράκλειον, 87

θαλαττοκρατεῖν, 99
 θαυμάζω, 100
 Θράκιον, 89

ιδιώτης, 158
 ἱππής, 148
 ἰσοτέλεια, 155
 ἰστία μεγάλα, 78, 122

καθιέναι, 127
 καθίστασθαι, 138
 καλοὶ κάγαθοί, 130
 κάρανος, 91
 κατάγειν, 82
 καταδύειν, 104, 138
 καταθεῖν, 84
 κατακόπτειν, 96
 καταλέγειν, 132
 καταλεύειν, 86
 κατασιωπᾶσθαι, 154
 κατασκευάζεσθαι, 124
 καταστασιάζειν, 99
 κατατιτρώσκειν, 152
 κατέχειν, 89
 κάτω, 91
 Κεραμικός, 158

κῆρυξ, 153
 κλήσις, 109
 κλοῖον, 159
 κόθορνος, 137
 κοίλη ναῦς, 101
 κοινότης, 82
 κομίζεσθαι, 77
 κόρη, 119
 κρίνειν, 115
 κρίνεσθαι, 93
 κῶφος, 157

λάσιος, 148
 λεία, 87
 λευκοῦσθαι, 155
 λιθοτομῖαι, 86
 Λύκειον, 83
 λυμαίνεσθαι, 135

μακρὰ τείχη, 126
 μάλη, 134
 μεταπίθειν, 111
 μέτοικοι, 134
 μέτωπον, 123
 μιζοβάρβαρος, 120
 μνησικακεῖν, 159
 μοιχᾶν, 101
 μονόκροτος, 122
 μόρα, 157
 μοχθηρός, 92

ναναγός, 106
 ναύαρχος, 103, 119
 νεοδαμῶδεις, 88
 νομίζεσθαι, 158

ξένια, 77
 ξύλον, 81

οἰκεῖσθαι, 103
 οἰμῶζειν, 145
 ὁμολογουμένως, 140
 ὄντα τά, 83
 ὄπλα, 117, 148, 149, 151, 155
 ὀρμᾶσθαι, 95
 οὔρος, 138

παιάν, 153
 παράβλημα, 121
 παραγγέλλειν, 82

παραδεικνύναι, 120
 παρακοῦειν, 139
 Πάραλος, 122
 παράνομα συγγράφειν, 109
 παράρρημα, 101
 παρασκευάζειν, 108
 πάσχειν, 100
 παύειν, 104
 πελάγιος, 121
 πελταστής, 84
 πελτοφόροι, 151
 πενέστης, 139
 περιλαμβάνειν, 159
 περίοικοι, 88
 περίπλους, 103
 πετροβόλοι, 151
 πίστις, 87
 Πλυντήρια, 92
 ποιεῖν, 95
 πράγματα, 101, 138
 πράττεσθαι, 98
 προβάλλεσθαι, 116
 προβολή, 116
 προβουλεύειν, 107
 προδιδόναι, 96
 προηγορεῖν, 82
 προσφείλειν, 96
 προστάτης, 105
 πρυτάνεις, 109

στενοπορία, 87
 συκοφαντία, 130
 συμμορία, 114
 συμφουιτητής, 154
 συμφράττειν, 77
 συναλίζειν, 82
 συνέδριον, 82, 154
 συνειδέναι, 130
 σύνθημα, 117
 συρρεῖν, 132
 συσπειρᾶν, 151
 σφάζειν, 84
 σώματα, 121

ταξίλαρχοι, 102
 τείχη, 98
 τειχύδριον, 122
 τρέφειν, 96
 τριάκοντα οἶ, 129
 τριταῖος, 123

ἔειν, 79
 ὑπάγειν, 89
 ὑπάρχειν, 93, 100
 ὑπερβίλλεσθαι, 93
 ὑπηρετικός, 104
 ὑπόμνησθαι, 115

φέρεισθαι, 98, 119
 φεύγειν, 81, 91
 φοβερός, 94
 φοιτᾶν, 84

φοιτήσις, 100
 φόρος, 87
 φρουρά, 81, 156
 φυλή, 148

χρῶ ἐν, 108
 χῶμα, 142

ᾠδεῖον, 150
 ὦρα, 117

III. GRAMMAR.

ADJECTIVES:

emphatic by position, 85
 neuter with masc. subject, 136
 predicative uses, 121, 123,
 131, 137, 145, 150

ARTICLE:

generic, 96, 113
 with numerals, 79
 with ὅτερος, 112
 with proper names, 156

CASES:

Accusative:

absolute, 133, 139, 143
 anticipatory, 117, 126
 cognate, 86, 104, 110, 119,
 158
 double, 113, 132, 137, 138
 duration of time, 151
 of respect, 90

Dative:

after verbs, 135, 138
 agent, 89
 instrument, 79
 measure, 134
 person concerned, 83, 89, 121
 sociative, 86, 97, 101, 114

Genitive:

ablative, 121, 126
 absolute, impersonal, 79, 126,
 156
 absolute, subject understood,
 81, 82, 146

after verbs, 77, 89, 138
 comparison, 75
 connexion, 92, 120, 156
 direction, 91
 material and contents, 83, 84,
 109
 object, 123, 159
 partitive, after
 (i) adverbs, 98, 121, 141,
 156
 (ii) nouns or pronouns, 79,
 90, 150, 156
 (iii) verbs, 114, 116, 131,
 159
 possessive, 114, 158
 price, 117, 142
 time, 137

Locative:

Ἐλευσίνη, 159
 Πειραιῶι, 157

Nominative:

nominativus pendens, 145

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES:

future indic. in protasis, 113,
 119, 143
 noteworthy, 135, 136, 138

CONSTRUCTIONS:

according to sense, 77, 78,
 92, 115, 121, 124, 127, 145
 anacoluthon, 123, 136
 anaphora, 135
 apposition, 77

CONSTRUCTIONS (continued):

apposition, partitive, 107, 118,

123, 129, 134

assimilation, 93, 96

asyndeton, 157

attraction, 90, 93, 98

ellipse, 113, 125, 136, 141

mixed, 86, 123, 133

neuter verb with constr. of

passive, 81, 91

parataxis, 136

pregnant, 80, 84, 86, 89

redundant, 142, 153

INFINITIVE:

absolute use, 154

after γιγνώσκω, 135

after ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐφ' ᾧτε, 127, 129,

159

after οἶος, 142

after ὥς, 102

explanatory, 143

of purpose, 129, 131, 139

MOODS:

Optative:

frequentative, 134

pure, 139

with ἄν in orat. obl., 153

Subjunctive:

after aorist in principal clause,

136

after ὅπως, 97

co-ordinate with opt., 118

graphic, 78, 118

ORATIO OBLIQUA:

ἄν with opt. in, 153

case of subject in, 121, 125

change of mood in, 92

future opt. in, 84, 113, 121,

129, 132

transition in, 82, 121, 132

PARTICIPLE:

after καταμαρθάνω, 99

after σύννοια, 112, 130

causal use, 120

concessive use, 91, 125, 136

imperfect, 86, 89, 140

impersonal, 78

stress of sentence on, 126, 158

PARTICLES:

ἀν, 131, 139, 140, 153

γε μήν, 138

δέ γε, 140

δή, 108, 121, 131, 132

εἰ, 119, 144, 156

εἰ δέ μή, 91

εἰ μή, 111

εἴτα, 111

ἔτι μέν, 150

ἔως, 141

ἦ μήν, 159

ἦδη, 113

καί, 97, 132, 141, 142, 148

καί—γε, 143

καί—δέ, 149

μή ὅτι, 139

μή—πω, 91

νῦν δέ, 136

οὐδέ, 140

οὐδ' ὥς, 158

οὐ μέντοι—γε, 138

οὐ μή, 103

οὐχ ὅπως, 152

τοι, 138, 152

ὥς, 102, 147

ὥς δέ, 108

PREPOSITIONS:

ἀντί

ἀντί τῆς νίκης, 115

ἀπό

ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας, 130

ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς, 157

ἀφ' ἑβης, 157

εἰς

εἰς Ἑλλήνας, 118

εἰς οὐραν, 138

εἰς τὸ δυνατόν, 101

εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 106

εἰς χεῖρας, 158

ἐκ

ἐκ Σάμου, 120

ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, 93

ἐκ τούτων, 145

ἐκτός

ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, 85

ἐν

ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, 130

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 112

ἐνεκα, ἔνεκεν

ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, 157

ἐνεκα ξύλων, 81

ἐνεκα πίστεως, 126

τούτου ἔνεκεν, 120

ἐπὶ

ἐπὶ Θηραμένην, 144

ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν, 92

ἐπὶ πόδα, 157

ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα, 85

ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, 98

ἐπὶ—ἀσπίδων, 151

ἐπὶ Θράκης, 88

ἐπὶ κέρως, 114

ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, 142

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 151

ἐπὶ Κριτία, 144

ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρῳ, 156

ἐπὶ ναῦσι, 97

ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, 83

ἐπὶ προδόταις, 112

ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ, 127

ἐπὶ τούτοις, 109

ἐφ' ᾧ, 127

ἐφ' ᾧτε, 129

κατὰ

κατὰ γνώμην, 113

κατ' ἐμέ, 100

κατ' ἰσχύν, 88

κατὰ λείας, 85

κατὰ παραγγελίαν, 118

κατὰ πόδας, 121

κατὰ τείχῃ, 155

κατὰ τὴν ἡδονά, 76

κατὰ τὴν ναυαρχίαν, 119

κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, 118

κατὰ τὸν πατέρα, 137

κατὰ Χερρόνησον, 121

μετά

μετ' ὀλίγον, 75

παρά

παρ' ἃ, 96

παρ' ἡμέραν, 93

παρὰ πρῶρας, 97

παρὰ τὸν νόμον, 113

παρὰ βασιλέως, 88

παρ' αὐτοῖς, 98

περί

περί Θηραμένην, 108

πρός

πρὸς ἃ, 100

πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους, 87

πρὸς Μυτιλήνην, 114

πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν, 120

πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, 85

πρὸς τοῦτο, 115

πρὸς Χαλκηδόνι, 87

ὑπέρ

ὑπὲρ Χαλκηδόνας, 87

ὑπό

ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων, 127

ὑπὸ μάλης, 134

PRONOUNS:

attraction of relative, 93, 98

αὐτός, 78, 86, 97, 127

ἐαυτόν, 114

ἐκαστοι, 129, 154

ἐκείνος, 82, 100, 101, 111,

125, 146

ὁπότερος, 112

ὅς γε, 152, 159

ὅσος, 125

ὅστις, 96, 116

οὗτος, 113, 136, 145, 151

σφεῖς, 111

τις, 109, 135

SUBJECT:

neuter plural with plural verb,

80, 129

omitted, 81, 82, 146

repeated with emphasis, 151

TENSES:

Aorist:

force of, 114, 128, 136

Future:

expressing purpose, 129

in conditional sentences, 113,

119, 143, 144

jussive, 121

optative, 84, 113, 121, 129, 132

Imperfect:

force of, 82, 107, 114, 127,

140

Perfect:

force of, 80, 153

Present:

historic, 120

idiomatic, 108, 113

(?) indicative after οὐ μή, 103

infinitive, 99

WORDS AND FORMS (dialectical,
or otherwise noteworthy):

ἀγαστός, 146

ἀνεξυνοῦτο, 82

ἀπεσσύα, 80

ἀποδικεῖν, 112

ἀπορίοιες, 81

γεραίρειν, 115

δυνασθῆ, 138

ἔδοσαν, ἔδωκαν, 85

εἰσέσθαι, 89

ἐσχατώτατος, 143

ἦών, 76

κᾶλα, 80

κερδέων, 154

πεινῶντι, 80

πλευσοῦμενος, 85

συμμεῖλαι, 87

τῶνδρες, 80

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

The references are to the pages of the Notes.

I. PROPER NAMES.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Abydos, 76 | Chios, 117 |
| Achaeans, 86 | Chrysopolis, 79 |
| Adeimantus, 122 | Cius, 91 |
| Aegina, 124 | Clearchus, 84 |
| Aegospotami, 122 | Cleocritus, 154 |
| Aexone, 155 | Cleophon, 81, 105, 106, 116, 126 |
| Agesandridas, 75 | Conon, 105, 122 |
| Agis, 83 | Coressus, 85 |
| Agrigentum, 98 | Coryphasium, 86 |
| Alcibiades, 76, 77, 92-95, 98, 141 | Critias, 128, 131, 144, 146, 149 |
| Antandrus, 81 | Cume, 98 |
| Antiochus, 97 | Cyrus, 90, 95 |
| Antiphon, 140 | Cyzicus, 78 |
| Anytus, 141 | |
| Aracus, 119 | Deceleia, 83, 89 |
| Archedemus, 105 | Delphinium, 95 |
| Arginusae, 102-104 | Dorieus, 75, 98 |
| Argos, 124 | |
| Ariobarzanes, 91 | Eleusis, 149, 155, 159, 160 |
| Aristarchus, 113 | Endius, 81 |
| Astyochus, 83 | Eratosthenes, 128, 134 |
| | Ephesus, 118 |
| Bithynian Thracians, 87 | Eteonicus, 117 |
| Byzantium, 88, 89 | Evagoras, 122 |
| | |
| Cadusii, 120 | Gordium, 90 |
| Callicratidas, 99, 100, 101 | Gytheium, 92 |
| Callixeinus, 108 | |
| Cannonus, 111, 112 | Halae, 158 |
| Castolus, 91 | Halipedum, 157 |
| Chalcedon, 87, 88, 123 | Hannibal, 84 |

- Heracleia, 86
 Hermocrates, 81, 88
 Hieramenes, 119
 Histiaea, 124

 Leon, 140
 Lysander, 87, 95, 99, 100, 118,
 120, 123, 124, 131
 Lysias, 134

 Melos, 124
 Meneclēs, 115
 Methymna, 101
 Mindarus, 76
 Munychia, 151
 Mytilene, 114

 Notium, 85

 Oenoe, 113

 Pactye, 98
 Patrocleides, 125
 Peiraeus, 150, 153
 Pericles, 111

 Pharnabazus, 76, 81, 91
 Philocles, 122
 Phyle, 147
 Pygela, 85

 Salamis, 150
 Samos, 95, 117, 124
 Satyrus, 130
 Scione, 124
 Sellasia, 125
 Sestos, 77, 84
 Socrates, 110, 116, 140
 Stages, 85
 Strombichides, 128
 Syracuse, 79

 Teos, 97
 Thasos, 83
 Theramenes, 78, 106, 107, 116,
 128, 133, 137, 142, 144, 146
 Thrasybulus, 75, 147, 154
 Thrasyllus, 75, 77
 Tissaphernes, 76, 77, 83, 91
 Torone, 124

II. GREEK WORDS.

- ἀγνωμονεῖν, 115
 ἀδικεῖν, 108
 αἶ, 82, 86, 118, 150
 Ἀκαδημία, 125
 ἀκμάζειν, 85
 ἄλλος, 127
 ἀμαξίατος, 156
 ἀμνηχανία, 93
 ἀναβαίνειν, 120
 ἀνάγειν, 150
 ἀναγκαῖος, 111
 ἀναρχία, 128
 ἀναφέρειν, 150
 ἀναψύχειν, 97
 ἀνδράποδον, 101
 ἀνέχειν, 102
 ἄνθρωπος, 100
 ἀνιέναι, 142, 143, 151
 ἀνοίγειν, 76

 ἀντικόπτειν, 132
 ἀντίπαλος, 137, 141
 Ἀπατούρια, 107
 ἀποκαλεῖν, 142
 ἀποκοτταβίζειν, 145
 ἀπολέπειν, 137
 ἀποσεύειν, 80
 ἀποσημαίνεσθαι, 134, 152
 ἀργυρολογία, 77
 ἀρμωστής, 87, 123, 131
 ἀσεβεῖν, 93
 ἀσπάζεσθαι, 86
 ἄστυ, 146
 ἀτέλεια, 85
 ἄτιμος, 125
 αὐτόθεν, 126, 151
 αὐτοκράτωρ, 94
 ἀφαιρῆσθαι, 86
 ἀφανίζειν, 104

βάραθρον, 112
 βέλτιστοι, 135
 Βενδίδειον, 151
 βουλευταί, 134
 βουλή, 107, 109, 130, 135

γίγνομαι, 100, 123, 126
 γιγνώσκω, 96, 139, 157
 γνώριμος, 124

δείλη, 76
 δέκα οί, 155
 δέκα τά, 157
 δεκατευτήριον, 79
 δεκάτη, 79
 διαβολή, 118
 διαψήφισις, 110
 διέκπλους, 103
 διέχειν, 121
 διίέναι, 159
 δίκαιος, 139
 δίκροτος, 122
 διωβελία, 105
 διώκειν, 78
 δρύφακτοι, 143
 δῶρον, 77

ἐγγυητής, 116
 ἐγχειρεῖν, 152
 ἐκκαθεύδειν, 155
 ἐκκληῖται, 158
 ἐκλέγειν, 80
 ἐκπίπτειν, 83
 ἔμπορος, 104
 ἔμφρουρος, 100
 ἔνδεκα οί, 108, 144
 ἐνιέναι, 157
 ἐντρέπεσθαι, 138
 Ἐνυάλιος, 153
 ἐξαιρεῖν, 127
 ἐξέτασις, 133, 149
 ἐξικνεῖσθαι, 152
 ἐπαινεῖν, 82
 ἐπακτρίς, 77
 ἐπιβάτης, 88
 ἐπιβολή, 106
 ἐπιδεῖν, 153
 ἐπικαλεῖν, 137
 ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, 123
 ἐπιμέλεσθαι, 106

ἐπιστολεύς, 80, 119
 ἐπίτιμος, 125
 ἐπιτρέπειν, 94
 ἐπιχειρεῖν, 138
 ἔρρειν, 80
 ἐστία, 144
 ἐσχατιά, 148
 ἑταιρία, 154
 ἑταῖρος, 142
 εὐαγγέλια, 104
 εὐεργεσία, 81
 εὐθύ, 91
 εὐορκεῖν, 157
 εὕριπος, 102
 ἐφοδιάζεσθαι, 100
 ἐφώδιον, 81
 ἔφοροι, 125, 156, 158
 ἐχόμενος, 102
 ἐωθινὸν τό, 76

ἦβη, 157
 ἡλικία, 102
 Ἡράκλειον, 87

θαλαττοκρατεῖν, 99
 θαναμάζω, 100
 Θράκιον, 89

ιδιώτης, 158
 ἱππής, 148
 ἱστοτέλεια, 155
 ἱστία μεγάλη, 78, 122

καθιέναι, 127
 καθίστασθαι, 138
 καλοὶ κάγαθοί, 130
 κάρανος, 91
 κατάγειν, 82
 καταδύειν, 104, 138
 καταθεῖν, 84
 κατακόπτειν, 96
 καταλέγειν, 132
 καταλεύειν, 86
 κατασιωπᾶσθαι, 154
 κατασκευάζεσθαι, 124
 καταστασιάζειν, 99
 κατατιτρώσκειν, 152
 κατέχειν, 89
 κάτω, 91
 Κεραμεικός, 158

κῆρυνξ, 153
 κληῖσις, 109
 κλοῖον, 159
 κόθορνος, 137
 κοίλη ναῦς, 101
 κοινότης, 82
 κομίζεσθαι, 77
 κόρη, 119
 κρίνειν, 115
 κρίνεσθαι, 93
 κῶφος, 157

λάσιος, 148
 λεία, 87
 λευκοῦσθαι, 155
 λιθοτομῖαι, 86
 Λύκειον, 83
 λυμαίνεσθαι, 135

μακρὰ τεῖχη, 126
 μάλη, 134
 μεταπίθειν, 111
 μέτοικοι, 134
 μέτωπον, 123
 μιξοβάρβαρος, 120
 μνησικακεῖν, 159
 μοιχᾶν, 101
 μονόκροτος, 122
 μόρα, 157
 μοχθηρός, 92

ναυαγός, 106
 ναύαρχος, 103, 119
 νεοδαμῶδεις, 88
 νομίζεσθαι, 158

ξένια, 77
 ξύλον, 81

οἰκεῖσθαι, 103
 οἰμῶζειν, 145
 ὁμολογουμένως, 140
 ὄντα τά, 83
 ὄπλα, 117, 148, 149, 151, 155
 ὀρμᾶσθαι, 95
 οὔρος, 138

παιάν, 153
 παράβλημα, 121
 παραγγέλλειν, 82

παραδεικνύναι, 120
 παρακούειν, 139
 Πάραλος, 122
 παράνομα συγγράφειν, 109
 παράρρημα, 101
 παρασκευάζειν, 108
 πάσχειν, 100
 παύειν, 104
 πελάγιος, 121
 πελταστής, 84
 πελτοφόροι, 151
 πενέστης, 139
 περιλαμβάνειν, 159
 περίοικοι, 88
 περίπλους, 103
 πετροβόλοι, 151
 πίστις, 87
 Πλυντήρια, 92
 ποιεῖν, 95
 πράγματα, 101, 138
 πράττεσθαι, 98
 προβάλλεσθαι, 116
 προβολή, 116
 προβουλεύειν, 107
 προδιδόναι, 96
 προηγορεῖν, 82
 προοφείλειν, 96
 προστάτης, 105
 πρυτάνεις, 109

στενοπορία, 87
 συκοφαντία, 130
 συμμορία, 114
 συμφοιτητής, 154
 συμφράττειν, 77
 συναλίζειν, 82
 σινέδριον, 82, 154
 συνειδέναι, 130
 σύνθημα, 117
 συρρεῖν, 132
 συσπειρᾶν, 151
 σῶζειν, 84
 σώματα, 121

ταξίάρχοι, 102
 τεῖχη, 98
 τειχύδριον, 122
 τρέφειν, 96
 τριακοντα οἱ, 129
 τριταῖος, 123

ἵεν, 79
 ὑπάγειν, 89
 ὑπάρχειν, 93, 100
 ὑπερβίλλεσθαι, 93
 ὑπηρετικός, 104
 ὑπόμνησθαι, 115

φέρεσθαι, 98, 119
 φεύγειν, 81, 91
 φοβερός, 94
 φοιτᾶν, 84

φοίτησις, 100
 φόρος, 87
 φρουρά, 81, 156
 φυλή, 148

χρῶ ἐν, 108
 χῶμα, 142

ᾠδᾶιον, 150
 ὦρα, 117

III. GRAMMAR.

ADJECTIVES:

emphatic by position, 85
 neuter with masc. subject, 136
 predicative uses, 121, 123,
 131, 137, 145, 150

ARTICLE:

generic, 96, 113
 with numerals, 79
 with ὑπότερος, 112
 with proper names, 156

CASES:

Accusative:

absolute, 133, 139, 143
 anticipatory, 117, 126
 cognate, 86, 104, 110, 119,
 158
 double, 113, 132, 137, 138
 duration of time, 151
 of respect, 90

Dative:

after verbs, 135, 138
 agent, 89
 instrument, 79
 measure, 134
 person concerned, 83, 89, 121
 sociative, 86, 97, 101, 114

Genitive:

ablative, 121, 126
 absolute, impersonal, 79, 126,
 156
 absolute, subject understood,
 81, 82, 146

after verbs, 77, 89, 138
 comparison, 75
 connexion, 92, 120, 156
 direction, 91
 material and contents, 83, 84,
 109
 object, 123, 159
 partitive, after
 (i) adverbs, 98, 121, 141,
 156
 (ii) nouns or pronouns, 79,
 90, 150, 156
 (iii) verbs, 114, 116, 131,
 159
 possessive, 114, 158
 price, 117, 142
 time, 137

Locative:

Ἐλευσῖνι, 159
 Πειραιοῖ, 157

Nominative:

nominativus pendens, 145

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES:

future indic. in protasis, 113,
 119, 143
 noteworthy, 135, 136, 138

CONSTRUCTIONS:

according to sense, 77, 78,
 92, 115, 121, 124, 127, 145
 anacoluthon, 123, 136
 anaphora, 135
 apposition, 77

CONSTRUCTIONS (continued):

apposition, partitive, 107, 118,

123, 129, 134

assimilation, 93, 96

asyndeton, 157

attraction, 90, 93, 98

ellipse, 113, 125, 136, 141

mixed, 86, 123, 133

neuter verb with constr. of

passive, 81, 91

parataxis, 136

pregnant, 80, 84, 86, 89.

redundant, 142, 153

INFINITIVE:

absolute use, 154

after *γινώσκω*, 135after *ἐφ' ᾧ*, *ἐφ' ᾧ* τε, 127, 129,

159

after *οἶος*, 142after *ὥς*, 102

explanatory, 143

of purpose, 129, 131, 139

MOODS:

Optative:

frequentative, 134

pure, 139

with *ἄν* in orat. obl., 153*Subjunctive*:

after aorist in principal clause,

136

after *ὅπως*, 97

co-ordinate with opt., 118

graphic, 78, 118

ORATIO OBLIQUA:

ἄν with opt. in, 153

case of subject in, 121, 125

change of mood in, 92

future opt. in, 84, 113, 121,

129, 132

transition in, 82, 121, 132

PARTICIPLE:

after *καταμανθάνω*, 99after *σύννοια*, 112, 130

causal use, 120

concessive use, 91, 125, 136

imperfect, 86, 89, 140

impersonal, 78

stress of sentence on, 126, 158

PARTICLES:

ἄν, 131, 139, 140, 153*γέ* *μήν*, 138*δέ* *γέ*, 140*δή*, 108, 121, 131, 132*εἰ*, 119, 144, 156*εἰ δέ* *μή*, 91*εἰ* *μή*, 111*εἴτα*, 111*ἔτι* *μέν*, 150*ἔως*, 141*ἦ* *μήν*, 159*ἦδη*, 113*καί*, 97, 132, 141, 142, 148*καί*—*γέ*, 143*καί*—*δέ*, 149*μή* *οὔτι*, 139*μή*—*πω*, 91*νῦν* *δέ*, 136*οὐδέ*, 140*οὐδ'* *ὥς*, 158*οὐ μέντοι*—*γέ*, 138*οὐ* *μή*, 103*οὐχ* *ὅπως*, 152*τοι*, 138, 152*ὥς*, 102, 147*ὥς* *δή*, 108

PREPOSITIONS:

*ἀντί**ἀντί* *τῆς νίκης*, 115*ἀπό**ἀπό* *συκοφαντίας*, 130*ἀπό* *τῆς προσβολῆς*, 157*ἀφ'* *ἱβης*, 157*εἰς**εἰς* *Ἑλλήνας*, 118*εἰς* *οὐρον*, 138*εἰς* *τὸ δυνατόν*, 101*εἰς* *τὸν δῆμον*, 106*εἰς* *χείρας*, 158*ἐκ**ἐκ* *Σάμου*, 120*ἐκ* *τοῦ δήμου*, 93*ἐκ* *τούτων*, 145*ἐκτός**ἐκτός* *ὀλίγων*, 85

ἐν

ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, 130

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 112

ἐνεκα, ἔνεκεν

ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, 157

ἐνεκα ξύλων, 81

ἐνεκα πίστεως, 126

τούτου ἔνεκεν, 120

ἐπὶ

ἐπὶ Θηραμένην, 144

ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν, 92

ἐπὶ πόδα, 157

ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα, 85

ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, 98

ἐπὶ—ἀσπίδων, 151

ἐπὶ Θράκης, 88

ἐπὶ κέρως, 114

ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων, 142

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 151

ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ, 144

ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρῳ, 156

ἐπὶ ναῦσι, 97

ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, 83

ἐπὶ προδόταις, 112

ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ, 127

ἐπὶ τούτοις, 109

ἐφ' ᾧ, 127

ἐφ' ᾧτε, 129

κατά

κατὰ γνώμην, 113

κατ' ἐμέ, 100

κατ' ἰσχύν, 88

κατὰ λείας, 85

κατὰ παραγγελίαν, 118

κατὰ πόδας, 121

κατὰ τείχην, 155

κατὰ τὴν ἡβήν, 76

κατὰ τὴν ναυαρχίαν, 119

κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, 118

κατὰ τὸν πατέρα, 137

κατὰ Χερρόνησον, 121

μετά

μετ' ὀλίγον, 75

παρά

παρ' ἃ, 96

παρ' ἡμέραν, 93

παρὰ πύρας, 97

παρὰ τὸν νόμον, 113

παρὰ βασιλέως, 88

παρ' αὐτοῖς, 98

περί

περὶ Θηραμένην, 108

πρός

πρὸς ἃ, 100

πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους, 87

πρὸς Μυτιλήνην, 114

πρὸς τὸν ἐκπλοῦν, 120

πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, 85

πρὸς τοῦτο, 115

πρὸς Χαλκηδόνι, 87

ὑπέρ

ὑπὲρ Χαλκηδόνος, 87

ὑπό

ὑπ' ἀνλητρίδων, 127

ὑπὸ μάλης, 134

PRONOUNS:

attraction of relative, 93, 98

αὐτός, 78, 86, 97, 127

ἐαυτόν, 114

ἐκαστοι, 129, 154

ἐκείνος, 82, 100, 101, 111,

125, 146

ὁπότερος, 112

ὅς γε, 152, 159

ὅσος, 125

ὅστις, 96, 116

οὗτος, 113, 136, 145, 151

σφεῖς, 111

τις, 109, 135

SUBJECT:

neuter plural with plural verb,

80, 129

omitted, 81, 82, 146

repeated with emphasis, 151

TENSES:

Aorist:

force of, 114, 128, 136

Future:

expressing purpose, 129

in conditional sentences, 113,

119, 143, 144

jussive, 121

optative, 84, 113, 121, 129, 132

Imperfect:

force of, 82, 107, 114, 127,

140

Perfect:

force of, 80, 153

Present:

historic, 120

idiomatic, 108, 113

(?) indicative after οὐ μή, 103

infinitive, 99

WORDS AND FORMS (dialectical,
or otherwise noteworthy):

ἀγαστός, 146

ἀνεξυνούτο, 82

ἀπεσσύα, 80

ἀποδικεῖν, 112

ἀπορίοιμες, 81

γεραίρειν, 115

δυνασθῆ, 138

ἔδοσαν, ἔδωκαν, 85

εἰσέσθαι, 89

ἐσχατώτατος, 143

ἧών, 76

κάλα, 80

κερδέων, 154

πεινῶντι, 80

πλευσούμενος, 85

συμμεῖξαι, 87

τῶνδρες, 80

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